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Near East/South Asia Report

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2 MAY 1986

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

CONTENTS

ARAB AFRICA

EGYPT

Cartoon Derides New Economic Measures
(AL-SHA'B, 25 Mar 86) 1

LIBYA

FRG Journal Interviews Exiled Libyan Opposition Leader
(Iabd al-Hamid Bakush Interview; DER SPIEGEL, 7 Apr 86) .. 2

ARAB EAST/ISRAEL

IRAQ

Saddam Husayn's Itinerary for 1985 Reviewed
(AL-QADISIYAH, 31 Dec 85) 6

ISRAEL

Lavi Fighter Prototype To Fly in September
(Shlomo Maoz, Avi Temkin; THE JERUSALEM POST, 28 Mar 86) . 16

Alternative to Racism Bill Under Consideration
(THE JERUSALEM POST, 28 Mar 86) 17

Briefs
Jewish Settlement Council Pressure 18
Science and Development Appointment 18
Foreign Currency Reserves Dropping 18

JORDAN

Minutes of Joint Jordanian-Iraqi Committee's Meetings
(RISALAT AL-SINA'AH, Jan 86) 19

Study Reviews Country's Industrial Development
(Muhammad Salih Jabir; RISALAT AL-SINA'AH, Jan 86) 28

OMAN

Omani Arab Bank Records Successful Year
(TIMES OF OMAN, 6 Mar 86) 33

First University in Oman To Open
(EMIRATES NEWS, 9 Mar 86) 34

Air Cargo Link With Egypt To Begin Operations
(Muzaffar Mohammad; TIMES OF OMAN, 13 Mar 86) 35

Growth in Exports, Imports Reported
(TIMES OF OMAN, 27 Mar 86) 36

Briefs
New Telephone Exchange 37

SAUDI ARABIA

Labor Minister Discusses Ministry's Responsibilities
(Muhammad bin 'Ali al-Fa'iz Interview; AL-YAMAMAH, 15 Jan 86) 38

Symposium Discusses Enhancement of Country's Exports
(AL-RIYAD, 9 Jan 86) 50

SOUTH ASIA

AFGHANISTAN

Expansion of Airport, Land Reform, Country's Occupation Discussed
(MEED/THE MIDDLE EAST'S BUSINESS WEEKLY, 15 Mar 86) 68

IRAN

Paper Discusses Women's Problems With Prime Minister
(Musavi Interview; KEYHAN, 2 Mar 86) 69

Women To Receive Training for Military Duties
(Vahe Petrossian; MEED/THE MIDDLE EAST'S BUSINESS WEEKLY,
8 Mar 86) 77

Procedures of Hague Tribunal Elaborated
(Iain Jenkins; MEED/THE MIDDLE EAST'S BUSINESS WEEKLY,
8 Mar 86) 78

Weekly Reports on Petrochemical, Pipeline Projects, Oil Sale
(MEED/THE MIDDLE EAST'S BUSINESS WEEKLY, 8 Mar 86) 81

Budget Increase, Gas Talks, Ties With Other States Reported
(MEED/THE MIDDLE EAST'S BUSINESS WEEKLY, 15 Mar 86) 84

PAKISTAN

Benazir Speaks to Huge Crowd in Gujranwala
(AFP, 13 Apr 86) 87

Legalizing of Arms Manufacturing in NWFP Suggested
(BUSINESS RECORDER, 3 Apr 86) 89

Prime Minister Announces Proprietory Rights for Slum Dwellers
(BUSINESS RECORDER, 8 Apr 86) 91

Foreign Aid Termed a 'Misnomer' for Loans
(BUSINESS RECORDER, 8 Apr 86) 93

London PPP Activities, Ghulam Mustafa Khar Statement
(Zahur Niazi; JANG, 3 Mar 86) 95

Briefs
Talks With Poland 102

CARTOON DERIDES NEW ECONOMIC MEASURES

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 25 Mar 86 p 10

[Cartoon]

Key:
1. Prices
2. The government
3. New economic decisions

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FRG JOURNAL INTERVIEWS EXILED LIBYAN OPPOSITION LEADER

DW071210 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 7 Apr 86 pp 164-170

[Interview with Libyan exiled opposition leader Iabd al-Hamid Bakush--interviewer, date, and place not given]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Mr Bakush, the superpower United States and little Libya in late March headed for military confrontation. Are you, the chief of the "Libyan Liberation Organization," gratified at nothing that the Americans intended to make their arch enemy Al-Qadhdhafi see reason by means of rockets?

Bakush: You are quite badly mistaken. The United States has now tossed a life belt to Al-Qadhdhafi, probably unintentionally.

SPIEGEL: Rocket attacks on Libyan warships are hardly a life belt.

Bakush: You must understand the Arab world. There the people consider a hero any ruler who challenges a great power--and it is only seconeary whether he just makes a lot of noise and deceives his public. By its limited action the United States has....

SPIEGEL: ...which you welcome?

Bakush: ...in principle, yes. But by this limited action, which has not at all harmed Al-Qadhdhafi, but only benefits him morally, the Americans actually did him a favor. He will now stand up and say: "I have won victory in the exchange of strikes with the Pentagon."

SPIEGEL: What should the Americans have done differently?

Bakush: The Americans should have inflicted on Al-Qadhdhafi serious military losses of such dimens-on that he would be unable to deny his defeat. Then both the army and the people would have felt encouraged to put an end to the tyranny of that bloody dictator. Only that would have made sense.

SPIEGEL: A large-scale attack by the United States, however, could well have unpredictably spread the conflict. Several Arab states, after all, have already come out publicly against the U.S. threat and, in part, promised Libya military assistance.

Bakush: The attitude of the Arab states is insincere. Every Arab country, even Syria, which usually makes noises to the contrary, is longing to be rid of Al-Qadhdhafi at last.

SPIEGEL: Why should Arab governments talk with a forked tongue in this case?

Bakush: They are afraid and do not dare defy him openly. Al-Qadhdhafi's terror does not stop for anybody. Take Tunisia, to begin with--various groups are struggling for power there. None of then like Al-Qadhdhafi, but all of them curry favor with him more or less directly. At least they want to ensure that he will not meddle in their political games.

SPIEGEL: Suppose Washington had struck, would the Arabs still not have come to the aid of Al-Qadhdhafi?

Bakush: Never. The Arabs secretly wish that the Americans had launched a big attack against Al-Qadhdhafi. Every Arab will confirm that to you after coffee or tea. But because the Arab governments knew the Americans would go only half-way in the Gulf of Sidra, they played it safe and delivered declarations of assistance such as are part of the Arab slogan repertoire. In the meantime, it is an established fact that the Americans have by their planless policy once again embarrassed their friends in that part of the world. The result then is what you refer to as "forked tongue."

SPIEGEL: Al-Qadhdhafi, then, would be a politician who needs to be taken seriously after all?

Bakush: His strength is the weakness of the others.

SPIEGEL: Economically, Al-Qadhdhafi so far has been a strong man.

Bakush: So far, yes, but only because Europe, where he sells his oil, has by their purchase policy made him capable of financing terrorism, whereby Europe itself largely invited its terror problems.

SPIEGEL: Serious tensions emerged between Bonn and Tripoli over Libyan murders of Libyan dissidents. The British, too, remained adamant.

Bakush: I do welcome the fact that the Federal Republic and Great Britain offer resistance to Al-Qadhdhafi's terror for a change. Yet, what should people think if the Federal Republic arrests and deports a member of the Libyan Embassy who has been proven guilty of torture, while democratic Austria just 2 months later thinks nothing of accepting the proven torturer as newly appointed Libyan diplomat in Vienna?

SPIEGEL: But that is not at all the rule.

Bakush: Europe, places economic interests above anything else--even humanitarian aspects. It is a shame that the Europeans, who fought for their freedom and the freedom of the individual citizen for such a long time, now

allow themselves to be blackmailed by a dictator, who not only admits his crimes, but even boasts of them.

SPIEGEL: Al-Qadhdhafi's murder commandos are not tolerated, and besides, they have so far not taken actions against Europeans, though that does not justify their actions.

Bakusy: So? Several foreign journalists, for instance, confessed to me that they desist from too harsh a criticism of Al-Qadhdhafi's bloody rule least they be added to the death list of the Libyan intelligence service. And then Africa--the entire black continent is intimidated by Al-Qadhdhafi..

SPIEGEL: But some African countries regard Libya as an ally.

Bakush: The money derived from his oil sales is the basis of his influence and power--and for his maneuvers of political blackmail. He must not, after all, resort to pistol and dynamite in all cases.

SPIEGEL: But how can anybody stay in power for 16 years if he does not have the support of the people's majority?

Bakush: I am surprised that a German, of all people, is posing this question despite the horrid example of the most recent German past. Al-Qadhdhafi's dictatorship is one of the worst in the 20th century. It is not constitution and law that rule in Muammar Al-Qadhdhafi's Libya but oral orders by an ignorant clique of rulers. Today the Libyan people increasingly are exposed to the irrational dictates of the people's councils and "revolution committees" composed of uneducated young people.

SPIEGEL: And yet: The media report relatively seldom on the opposition in Libya. Have all dissidents excaped to foreign countries?

Bakush: The media do not have any access to the system. Everything is hermetically sealed off. But even Libyan television showed that Al-Qadhdhafi's henchmen lynched so-called traitors without court trials in Tripoli and Benghasi--for the sake of deterrence--who had dared oppose oppression.

SPIEGEL: Can the opposition you are heading be a danger to the regime?

Bakush: The "Libyan Liberation Organization" that I am heading is the mouthpiece of the constantly increasing internal opposition. The danger to Al-Qadhdhafi comes from within.

SPIEGEL: Does Egypt help you in your effort to overthrow Al-Qadhdhafi? As is generally known, Cairo has been at cross purposes with Al-Qadhdhafi for years.

Bakush: Egypt is granting us asylum--no more. The struggle against the system is waged internally in Libya.

SPIEGEL: Suppose the Americans really had meant business, then additional pressure might have come from outside as well.

Bakush: But it was not that serious. Meanwhile, the Libyan army would not have had anything with which to face the Americans.

SPIEGEL: Despite the multitude of weapons which Al-Qadhdhafi has brought?

Bakush: The Libyan army consists of 40,000 men, at best; they are poorly trained and not adequately motivated. They failed as amentably in Uganda as they did in Chad. And the militia, which also exists, has nothing to offer beyond slogans.

SPIEGEL: But will this army not defend the boss when danger is imminent?

Bakush: This army has been purged so often, and so many officers and soldiers have been put to the sword, that the army would like it only too well to revolt against him.

SPIEGEL: And why does it not do so?

Bakush: It will do it very soon. The decisive factor is the Chad fiasco where the army suffered a defeat last December. The Chad war is unpopular in Libya. Just recently there was a mutiny among the Libyan troops in Chad. This is the beginning of the end. Things are coming to a head because money begins to be scarce owing to the drastically dropping petroleum revenues and because the supply situation of the people is critical. Al-Qadhdhafi will not be able to hold his ground for long anymore, the cup runneth over.

/9274
CSO: 4500/110

SADDAM HUSAYN'S ITINERARY FOR 1985 REVIEWED

Baghdad AL-QADISIYAH in Arabic 31 Dec 85 p 7

/Article: "Year 1985 Witnesses 114 Distinguished Activities by President Saddam Husayn"/

/Text/ While bidding goodbye to 1985, the year of magnificent victories in war and in building under the leadership of President Saddam Husayn, the leader of Iraq and of victory has not been diverted by the war imposed on our country by the racist Iranian regime from meeting with or receiving numerous fraternal and friendly delegations or from visiting the advance battlefronts or making visits outside the country to strengthen Iraq's foreign relations.

AL-QADISIYAH points out here the most significant field visits by Leader President Saddam Husayn and his meetings with the citizens and with fraternal and friendly delegations in 1985, naming the projects and sites visited:

January

1 January: Leader President Saddam Husayn visits a number of farm villages on the outskirts of Baghdad, familiarizes himself with their inhabitants' social, living, and health conditions, and distributes gifts to the village children on occasion of the new year.

6 January: Venerable Leader President Saddam Husayn makes an important historic speech on the occasion of the 64th anniversary of the valiant Iraqi Army, stressing that if the Iranian enemy insists on trying what he has not already tried then he will be doomed to something worse than he has encountered in all the previous battles.

15 January: Leader President Saddam Husayn visits the Ministry of Culture and Information.

16 January: Leader President Saddam Husayn visits the Central Bank of Iraq and familiarizes himself with the bank's activities and its role in the building and development process.

16 January: Venerable President Saddam Husayn meets with a number of our army's valiant officers.

21 January: His excellency the president receives the Arab League Council's committee for following up on the developments of the Iraq-Iran war and stresses Iraq's strong readiness to confront the Iranian regime's aggression.

February

4 February: Venerable Leader President Saddam Husayn meets with a number of field commanders and familiarizes himself with the situation on the battlefronts.

6 February: His excellency the president receives Yasir 'Arafat and reaffirms Iraq's support for the PLO.

7 February: Leader President Saddam Husayn addresses a message to the Arab University Youth Conference on the occasion of the inauguration of the conference activities, stressing that a nation's youth are the symbol of the nation's aspirations and awakening to build its development-oriented economic base.

10 February: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives a number of families of the martyrs of the glorious 8 February revolution, asserting that the heroic Ramadan (8 February) revolution is the most prominent inroad made in modern Iraqi history and in the history of uprisings and revolutions.

11 February: His excellency the president receives the Egyptian interests branch and lauds Egypt's positions of support for Iraq in its just battle.

12 February: His Excellency Leader President Saddam Husayn awards the party insignia to a group of Ba'thist strugglers.

14 February: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives Yasir Hawwari, an Arab journalist.

19 February: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives the Jordanian minister of foreign affairs.

25 February: His Excellency President Saddam Husayn receives the Jordanian minister of foreign affairs.

26 February: His Excellency President Saddam Husayn receives the Yugoslav minister of foreign affairs.

March

14 March: President Saddam Husayn, the commander of victory, returns from the battlefronts after inspecting them and issuing his instructions regarding the ongoing battle on the East Tigris operations front.

17 March: His Excellency President Saddam Husayn receives the Algerian minister of health.

18 March: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives King Husayn of Jordan and Egyptian President Husni Mubarak and holds cordial talks with them on relations between Iraq and the two countries.

21 March: Leader President Saddam Husayn visits the tombs of the Kazimi imams.

25 March: Leader President Saddam Husayn heads a meeting of the military command and studies with the commanders concerned the details of the fighting and the lessons learned from the heroic second East Tigris battle (the Crown of Battles).

27 March: Leader President Saddam Husayn visits Balad, Samarra', al-Dur, and a number of other villages and familiarizes himself with their inhabitants' living conditions.

April

4 April: Leader President Saddam Husayn visits Diyala Governorate and stresses that the new Iraq lives under the same condition from al-Faw to Zakhu and that all build and fight in defense of the homeland.

7 April: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives the envoy of King Hassan II.

7 April: Leader President Saddam Husayn honors fighter Salman 'Abbud for his valor and patriotism, embodied in his donating 844 bottles of blood and one of his kidneys.

8 April: Leader President Saddam Husyan receives UN Secretary General Xavier Perez de Cuellar and stresses that Iraq is prepared to settle the entire conflict on the basis of the UN charter and international law and that Iran is the party responsible for the aggression and the war.

10 April: Leader President Saddam Husayn holds a meeting of the armed forces general command.

11 April: Leader President Saddam Husayn heads a meeting of the armed forces general command to implement measures to crush the enemy should he be tempted to get embroiled in another act of aggression against our territories.

14 April: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat and reaffirms Iraq's support for the PLO in its capacity as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

17 April: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives the PLO leadership on the occasion of its presence in Baghdad.

20 April: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives the Dahuk masses carrying the victory banner.

21 April: Leader President Saddam Husayn visits Nineveh Governorate and stresses that our policy vis-a-vis the international endeavors to end the war

is embodied in withdrawal, a prisoner exchange, a ceasefire, negotiations, nonintervention, and ability of our people to live free on their land.

24 April: Leader President Saddam Husayn addresses a meeting of the Second Islamic Popular Conference, stressing that Iraq supports any resolution taken by the Muslims.

28 April: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives Dr Ma'ruf al-Dawalibi, the chairman of the Second Islamic Popular Conference's followup committee.

May

5 May: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives Dr 'Abd-al-Karim al-Iryani, the YAR deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

5 May: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives a written message from Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman Siwar al-Dhahab, chairman of the Sudanese Transitional Military Council, concerning the political, social, and economic conditions leading to the latest change in Sudan.

10 May: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and discusses with him bilateral relations and current conditions.

12 May: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives a delegation of the World Democratic Federation.

15 May: Leader President Saddan Husayn awards the medal of valor to a number of comrade members of the general command and asserts that the commanders' presence with the fighters is one of the secrets behind Iraq's success.

16 May: Leader President Saddam Husayn heads a meeting of the Council of Ministers.

17 May: Leader President Saddam Husayn sends a message to Dr Ma'ruf al-Dawalibi, the head of the Second Islamic Popular Conference's followup committee, underlining Iraq's approval of a land, sea, and air ceasefire throughout the blessed month of Ramadan and al-Fitr holiday, provided that the other side approve it openly and explicitly, that it abide by its word and spirit, and that it refrain from using the ceasefire period for the purpose of a military building and for launching another aggression against our territories.

18 May: Leader President Saddam Husayn awards the medal of valor to a number of comrades and military commanders, asserting that when he sees the relationship between the popular army and the armed forces and between the party and the armed forces and the relationship between the enemy units, the spirit distinguishing the Iraqis from others becomes evident.

19 May: Leader President Saddam Husayn awards the medal of valor to a number of fighters.

25 May: Leader President Saddam Husayn heads a meeting of the Revolution Command Council and of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party Regional Command and decisions are made to escalate the strong blows against the centers of evil and aggression in Tehran to punish the oppressive clique for the crimes it perpetrates and to discipline it for its insistence on continuing the war and the aggression.

June

6 June: Leader President Saddam Husayn meets with a number of officers of the air force and air defense.

11 June: Leader President Saddam Husayn awards the medal of valor to a number of the members of the heroic Republic Guard fighters.

14 June: A fourth message is sent by Leader President Saddam Husayn to the Iranian peoples on halting the strikes against safeguarded targets in cities in the Iranian hinterland, stating that if any of the rules pertaining to suspension of the strikes are violated, we will resume the strikes with force.

18 June: Leader President Saddam Husayn heads a meeting of the Council of Ministers.

26 June: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives Yasir 'Arafat, the PLO Executive Committee chairman, and reaffirms Iraq's strong support for the PLO.

29 June: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives a group of Samarra' inhabitants on the occasion of the annual anniversary of one of his excellency's visits to the district and stresses that the Iraqis' big family is Iraq, from which they gain and to which they owe their pride.

July

7 July: Leader President Saddam Husayn heads a meeting of the armed forces general command.

8 July: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives the Soviet ambassador in Baghdad.

9 July: Venerable Leader President Saddam Husayn, the armed forces general commander, receives a number of army officers.

11 July: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives the Egyptian minister of manpower.

14 July: Leader President Saddam Husayn awards the medal of valor to a number of our heroic fighters.

17 July: Leader President Saddam Husayn addresses a comprehensive and important speech to our people on the anniversary of the blessed 17 July revolution, stressing that our revolution is the fittest for our people and that it is the victor.

18 July: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives Michel 'Aflaq, the comrade founder leader of the 'Ba'th Party.

19 July: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives a group of children from the governorates on the occasion of the anniversary of the glorious 17/30 July revolution.

20 July: Leader President Saddam Husayn holds a press conference with a number of Egyptian journalists.

23 July: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives Viktor Minin, the Soviet ambassador in Baghdad.

29 July: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives a delegation of the Kuwaiti Teachers Association and says that if we clean up our house in the Gulf and Iraq, future generations will live undisturbed for hundreds of years.

31 July: Leader President Saddam Husayn and King Husayn discuss fraternal relations and conditions on the battlefronts.

August

2 August: Leader President Saddam Husayn asserts in an interview with the chief editor of the Kuwaiti AL-SIYASAH that we are ascending and that our confidence in the future is high.

6 August: Leader President Saddam Husayn holds a meeting with the armed forces general command.

7 August: Leader President Saddam Husayn heads a cabinet meeting which discusses the training of students and teachers in the work field, the rural settlement plan, the reclaimed lands law, and the private sector's imports.

10 August: Leader President Saddam Husayn heads a cabinet meeting which adopts decisions and measures concerning the national campaign to increase Iraq's population, the foundation of consumer cooperatives, and the development of the marketing system.

17 August: Leader President Saddam Husayn awards al-Rafidayn medal and the badge of valor to a number of our brave aerial eagles /pilots/, asserting that our victory comes within the framework of the major historic feats.

18 August: Leader President receives PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat and discusses with him the summit's outcome and fraternal relations.

21 August: Leader President Saddam Husayn heads a cabinet meeting which discusses Iraqi science law, scientific research strategy, and controls on the use of state vehicles.

25 August: Leader President Saddam Husayn heads a cabinet meeting which discusses the education and higher education sector, the profit distribution law, and the law on preserving our hydrocarbon wealth.

31 August: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives (Abry) Makhov, the head of the Soviet Oriental Studies Institute.

September

1 September: Leader President Saddam Husayn heads a cabinet meeting which discusses the military medical college bill and the system of incentives for the transport installations of the Ministry of Transport and Communication.

4 September: Leader President Saddam Husayn heads a meeting of the armed forces general command.

5 September: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives fighter 'Abd-al-Karim Khalaf Nasir and his wife, bearers of the Iraqi banner from al-Basrah Governorate.

7 September: Leader President Saddam Husayn visits the Ministry of Culture and Information and asserts that the media are the images of life and that their role is to clarify all the facts.

12 September: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives the delegation to clear the Arab atmosphere and underlines respect for implementation of the Arab charters and treaties.

12 September: Leader President receives Tunisian Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali and reaffirms Iraq's support for its brothers in Tunisia.

14 September: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives Beji Caid Essebsi, Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba's personal envoy and minister of foreign affairs, and reaffirms Iraq's support for Tunisia on the basis of fraternal relations.

14 September: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives the FRG minister of economy and discusses with him bilateral relations and the Iraq-Iran war.

15 September: Leader President Saddam Husayn visits the tombs of Imam 'Ali al-Hadi and Imam al-Hasan al-'Askari, peace be upon them, and familiarizes himself with the social situation of a number of farm villages in Salah-al-Din Governorate.

18 September: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives Marwan al-Qasim, chief of the Jordanian Royal Office.

19 September: Leader President Saddam Husayn, the victory leader, heads a meeting of a number of the air force and air defense officers.

22 September: Leader President Saddam Husayn visits the martyr's monument and performs the prayer for the departed for the souls of our reverent martyrs.

24 September: Leader President Saddam Husayn addresses the Palestinian leaderships, asserting that Palestine is not a number, but a cause.

24 September: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat.

26 September: Leader President Saddam Husayn inspects al-'Alawiyah Hospital in Baghdad.

28 September: Leader President Saddam Husayn issues a directive to the ministries and to all the authorities, stating that transactions may not be viewed from the angle of nepotism, that no citizen is entitled or empowered to intervene in state procedures, and that any negligence on the part of any official in observing these principles is a violation whose consequences only the official concerned shoulders.

October

1 October: Leader President Saddam Husayn heads a cabinet meeting to discuss the state's unified budget, to evaluate the efficiency of the self-supported socialist sector establishments, and to set the export prices for fruits and vegetables.

2 October: Leader President Saddam Husayn attends a symposium studying the architectural concepts of the great State Mosque.

2 October: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives the deputy commander of the Saudi National Guard.

5 October: Leader President Saddam Husayn heads a meeting of the Regional Command and of the Revolution Command Council.

16 October: Leader President Saddam Husayn visits PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat and reaffirms Iraq's solidarity with the PLO.

18 October: Leader President Saddam Husayn visits citizens in various parts of the great al-Musayyib project.

21 October: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives the chairman and members of the Executive Office of the General Federation of Peasant and Cooperative Associations and asserts that we will beg to nobody, not even if we starve to death.

22 October: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives the leadership of the party's al-Ma'mun Branch and asserts that the warmer and the more heartfelt the relationship between the party and the people, the easier the revolutionary party's task becomes.

23 October: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives Muhammad 'Uthman al-Mirghani, the leader of the Sudanese Democratic Party.

25 October: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives the personal envoys of His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco and of UAE President Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan Al-Nuhayyan.

26 October: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives King Husayn and discusses with him fraternal relations and Arab conditions.

29 October: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives Roland Dumas, the French minister of external relations, and asserts that relations between Iraq and France reflect the fundamental interests of Palestine.

November

10 November: Leader President Saddam Husayn sends a written message to U.S. President Ronald Reagan underlining Iraq's firm position on the Palestinian struggle and asking the U.S. administration to adopt a balanced and fair position toward the Palestinian issue.

18 November: Leader President Saddam Husayn speaks on AL-WATAN AL'-ARABI magazine, stressing that Iraq is solidly correct and strongly supports what is right and true.

25 November: During the oath of office ceremonies for the governors of Baghdad and Irbil, Leader President Saddam Husayn asserts that the official's strength and legitimacy do not come from his being a servant of the people.

29 November: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives Yasir 'Arafat, the PLO Executive Committee member, and stresses that our position of supporting the PLO and its options is firm.

December

3 December: Leader President Saddam Husayn awards a number of the martyrs' families the martyr's insignia.

9 December: Leader President Saddam Husayn expresses appreciation for the efforts exerted by our heroic air force in destroying the aggressors' material mainstays.

10 December: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives Prince Hasan ibn Talal, the crown prince of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan.

11 December: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives (Wu Xiuquan), member of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee.

11 December: Leader President Saddam Husayn receives the Italian minister of foreign trade.

16 December: Leader President Saddam Husayn visits Moscow, meets with Mikhail Gorbachev, and renews the resolution to develop relations between Iraq and the Soviet Union.

19 December: Leader President Saddam Husayn heads a joint meeting of the Revolution Command Council and the Regional Command and reviews the outcome of the friendly working visit he had made to the Soviet Union.

24 December: Leader President Saddam Husayn sends a written comment in response to a cable from the capital's mayor on occasion of the completion of barriers for defense positions and of roads leading to the positions--a comment asserting that this phase will continue to be a source of pride for the Iraqis and the Arabs for generations to come.

8494/12228
CSO: 4404/226

LAVI FIGHTER PROTOTYPE TO FLY IN SEPTEMBER

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 28 Mar 86 p 2

[Article by Shlomo Maoz and Avi Temkin: "Lavi Production Is Now 'At Point of No Return'"]

[Text] The Lavi fighter plane has passed the point of no return. Its first prototype will fly in September, and production will start in 1990, the chairman of the Israel Aircraft Industries board, David Ivri, said yesterday. The direct cost of scrapping the Lavi project would be $270 million, and it would cause the dismissal of some 6,000 from Israeli industry, Ivri disclosed.

If the project were discontinued, it would be the heaviest blow that Israel's industry could receive, he said. Hitherto, about $1 billion has been spent in the fighter's development and a further $1.2b. will be spent in the future. He revealed that only a 13 per cent gap separates the Israeli and the American estimates of development costs. The Americans have said the costs will reach $2.6b., he said.

Ivri said that each plane will cost between $13.5m. and $15.5m. to produce. The development and production of the fighter are being completely financed with funds from America, Ivri said. By 1992, the production line will be working at full speed, when 24 planes will be produced, he forecast.

IAI general manager Moshe Keret said the Lavi will be a high-speed and low-flying fighter, which will be able to operate with a heavy load. He said the plane was specially designed for attack, although it will fulfil a broad range of tasks for the Israel Air Force.

The IAI officials described the Lavi as a flying computer. They said it is one of the largest software projects in the world, possibly second only to the American space shuttle programme.

The heads of IAI said about 4,000 engineers were employed by their company, most of them in the development of the Lavi. They revealed that there are suggestions that IAI should develop projects for the American "Star Wars" programme, as a means of finding jobs for these engineers after the fighter development stage is over.

Ivri and Keret were optimistic abut the export potential of the Lavi.

Keret said that IAI will export goods worth $552m. in 1985/86, compared to $435m. last year. In 1986-87, it is planning to export $626m. The general manager complained that the cuts in the defence budget had decreased the company's domestic sales. The company had compensated for the drop in domestic orders by increasing its sales abroad, he said.

Asked about unsold civilian aircraft, mainly Astra executive jets made by IAI, the company heads said that currently held stock is worth about $50m.

Keret revealed that IAI has started work on the next generation of anti-missile systems, the Barak; and is thinking about developing the third generation of the Gabriel sea missile. When it comes to sales of missiles, it is a question of "fashion," he said.

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CSO: 4400/156

ALTERNATIVE TO RACISM BILL UNDER CONSIDERATION

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 28 Mar 86 p 2

[Text] The Orthodox factions in the Knesset yesterday gave the two cabinet ministers responsible for liaison with the coalition their alternative proposal on legislation to muzzle MK Meir Kahane's Kach Party.

Instead of the government draft already approved in the Law Committee, which would make publication of incitement to racism a crime, the Orthodox parties want to outlaw attacks on minorities.

The Orthodox factions say that a law against racism in a Jewish state could create the impression that Judaism is racist.

The two cabinet ministers, Justice Minister Moshe Nissim and Energy Minister Moshe Shahal, said they would study the Orthodox factions' draft, composed with the help of attorney Yaakov Weinroth at the request of MK Avner Shaki (NRP), and report to the coalition executive on Monday.

Nissim declined to give the press any off-the-cuff comments on the alternative draft. Shahal, however, said that at first glance it seemed unacceptable, since there was no justification in a democratic state for special legislation protecting the status of minorities. He said Israel had never created a special status in law for minorities.

Shahal also rejected the Orthodox factions' fear of the term "racism," pointing out that the Basic Law: Knesset had recently been amended to keep Kahane out of the next elections. It states in so many words that an electoral list preaching racist doctrine could be barred from running. The Orthodox parties never raised a murmur about the Basic Law: Knesset, he said.

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BRIEFS

JEWISH SETTLEMENT COUNCIL PRESSURE--The Council of Jewish Settlements in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza is planning to launch an open campaign against the Likud for the establishment of seven new settlements in Judaea and Samaria. The Council is annoyed with Likud for not fighting for the establishment of the new settlements because it fears this might sabotage the impending rotation. Sources in the Council hae accused the Likud of cowardliness and regression in the ideological struggle for Eretz Yisra'el. According to one of the plans, the Council will issue a manifesto that will be addressed directly to the Likud in a bid to pressure it into playing the role of defender of settlements in Judaea and Samaria. The Council has submitted to the Likud a list of eight new settlements planned for this year in accordance with the coalition agreement, seven of which should actually be set up. [Report by Uri'el Ben-'Ami] [Text] [Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 4 Apr 86 p 1 TA] /9738

SCIENCE AND DEVELOPMENT APPOINTMENT--Ya'aqov Sapir assumed the office of director general of the Ministry of Science and Development today. For the past 5 years, Mr Sapir served as director of the ministry's National Council for Research and Development and will continue to hold this office. He was formerly in charge of the overseas service of the Voice of Israel's foreign political broadcasts, head of the international scientific relations division of the National Council for Research and Development, and Israel's representative to intergovernmental research organizations. He also held the position of assistant director general in the Prime Minister's office and was in charge of the Technical Assistance Bureau. [Summary] [Jerusalem GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE in English 31 Mar 86 TA] /9738

FOREIGN CURRENCY RESERVES DROPPING--Israel's foreign currency reserves are continuing to drop for the 4th straight month. The reserves dropped by $77 million last month and by $250 million over the last 4 months. Our economic affairs correspondent reports that the drop stems mainly from repayment of government debts. Last month the government absorbed 74 million new shekels. However, during the entire fiscal year 289 million new shekels were funneled into the economy. [Text] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1300 GMT 1 Apr 86 TA] /9738

CSO: 4400/154

MINUTES OF JOINT JORDANIAN-IRAQI COMMITTEE'S MEETINGS

Amman RISALAT AL-SINA'AH in Arabic Jan 86 pp 48-52

[Article: "Meeting of Sixth Session of Joint Iraqi-Jordanian Ministerial Committee, Held in Amman from 19-22 December 1985"]

[Text] On the basis of the pan-Arab ties between the two fraternal countries of Iraq and Jordan, out of a belief in the objectives of the Arab economic unity treaty and in the provisions of the Arab common market resolution, in accordance with the provisions of the economic and technical cooperation agreement concluded between the two countries on 1 May 1980, and on the peripheries of the talks held by Taha Yasin Ramadan, the Revolutionary Command Council member and the deputy prime minister, with his His Excellency Prime Minister Zayd al-Rifa'i, the Joint Iraqi-Jordanian Ministerial Committee held its sixth session in Amman from 19-22 December 1985. The Iraqi side was headed by 'Abd-al-Jabbar al-Asadi, the minister of transport and communication, and the Jordanian side by Dr Raja'i al-Mu'ashshir, the minister of industry and commerce. The joint committee members from both sides were present.

After reviewing the development and growth of economic and trade relations and discussing the articles on the agenda, the two sides agreed on the following:

I. In the Sphere of Trade Exchange

1. To diversify and increase the volume of trade between the two fraternal countries in 1986 to U.S.$750 million in compliance with their aspirations to develop and bolster economic relations in the various spheres.

2. A. To set the share of the two trade centers in Amman and Baghdad at 20 million dinars for each in 1986.

B. To implement the shares in accordance with the provision of Article 4 of the minutes of the meetings of the Joint Iraqi-Jordanian Committee, held in Amman from 24-27 April 1980.

C. To consider Lists A and B attached to these minutes for the two programs concerning the distribution of the goods and shares of the two trade centers in Baghdad and Amman in 1986. These two lists shall not preclude the trade

exchange of other goods and such an exchange shall take place in light of the 1986 Iraqi import program and of the Jordanian import regulations.

3. The Jordanian side shall supply Iraq with the table eggs it needs in 1986 in accordance with the quantities, terms, and specifications to be agreed upon by the establishments concerned in the two countries.

4. The Jordanian side shall supply the Iraqi side with 2,500 tons of mixed cotton yarn in 1986. The Iraqi side agreed to this and promised to refer the request to the Iraqi authorities concerned to study it and to notify the Jordanian side of what develops in this regard.

5. On the basis of the principle of developing and enhancing the volume of trade between the two countries, the two sides stressed the need to eliminate the obstacles that impede the flow of national goods to each country and to give priority to each country's imports from the other country, especially in connection with the goods designated for the two trade centers in Baghdad and Amman.

6. To continue participation at the best level possible in the fairs held in each of the two countries and to organize special fairs in each country. Such fairs will be agreed upon at the time according to each of the two countries' circumstances.

7. The two sides agreed to encourage the exchange of trade delegations to conclude contracts with the establishments and firms concerned in each of the two countries.

II. Financial Affairs

1. Exchange agreement

A. It was agreed to rotate the balance of the banking arrangements implementing the exchange agreement concluded on 20 May 1984 between the Central Bank of Iraq and the Central Bank of Jordan as this balance stands at the end of the working day of 31 December 1985 and to accredit this balance to the accounts pertaining to the above-mentioned agreement to be opened in 1986. This balance shall be repaid in Iraqi crude oil, with 50 percent repaid in fuel oil, provided that the Iraqi side continues to ship Iraqi crude oil and fuel oil to Jordan as of 1 Janaury 1986 and that the Jordanian side receives these shipments.

B. The Central Bank of Jordan shall put at the disposal of the Central Bank of Iraq a sum of U.S.$200 million, including U.S.$150 million for crude oil and U.S.$50 million for fuel oil in 1986. The sum shall be made available as of 1 January 1986 to be used for the purchase of goods and services originated in Jordan and for costs and fees to the Iraqi Land Transport Establishment for its services in Jordan--services outlined in Article 2 of the banking arrangements referred to above in paragraph A, with this sum divided equally among all 12 months of 1986.

C. Sums referred to in paragraaph 1 of this article shall be divided equally and on a monthly basis of 50 percent for the goods and commodities orginating in Jordan and exported to Iraq and 50 percent for the services outlined in Article 2 of the above-mentioned banking arrangements.

D. The value of the Iraqi crude oil and of 50 percent of the fuel oil exported to Jordan in 1986 is supposed to cover the full rotated balance referred to above in paragraph A and the full value of all the visible and invisible Jordanian exports and the Iraqi land tansportation costs emanating from services in Jordan in 1986 and outlined in Article 2 of the banking arrangements referred to above in paragraph A.

E. What applies to the crude oil exported in accordance with the banking arrangements to be concluded between the two central banks shall apply to fuel oil.

2. Arrangements for payment facilities

The Central Bank of Jordan shall grant the Central Bank of Iraq in 1986 total credit facilities amounting to U.S.$175 million, provided that these credits be used to cover the payments referred to in Article 2 of the payment facilities agreement concluded by the two banks on 21 December 1983 and in its amendments and at the same previous rates and provided that the payments and interest due on these credit facilities are made in 12 equal monthly installments, with the first installment payable on 1 April 1988.

3. The Central Banks of Iraq and Jordan shall make at a later date the banking arrangements needed to implement the minutes' contents.

III. In the Sphere of Transport and Communications

1. The two sides have familiarized themselves with the progress of the transport activities between Jordan and Iraq and underlined the positive aspects in the implementation of the previous minutes, especially the following:

A. The priority given to the Iraqi strategic goods arriving in al-'Aqabah Port, the facilities given to Iraqi ships frequenting the said port and the priority given them in loading, unloading, fueling, and other services.

B. The priority in loading give to the trucks transporting grains and strategic foodstuffs and the 50 percent given to Iraqi trucks in transporting goods imported for Iraq.

The two sides stress that the work should continue to proceed according to these bases and controls.

2. The Iraqi side requested elimination of the fees imposed on Iraqi trucks bearing Iraqi license plates and loaded at al-'Aqabah Port in accordance with imports law No 86 of 1981. The Iraqi side requested the elimination of these fees for all Iraqi trucks carrying goods to Iraq directly. The Jordanian side responded to this request.

3. The two sides agreed to establish new bases and controls to facilitate the transportation of passengers between Baghdad and al-'Aqabah in a manner that serves the interest of both sides.

4. The Iraqi side requested the amendment of Jordanian legislation to make the Jordanian maritime shipping agent responsible as the shipper owning the vessel for following up on and collecting the Iraqi side's dues and not to keep this agent free of responsibility. The Jordanian side promised to study the request.

5. The Jordanian side became familiarized with the issue of the fines levied for loads exceeding the axle-based loads set by Iraq.

6. The two sides stressed the need to deal with all the issues pertaining to the transport sector between the two countries in a comprehensive manner so as to facilitate the air, land, and sea transport operations between them, asserting that this should include the shipping priorities, the facilities offered, the fees, the idea of considering the two countries' civilian airports as internal airports, the exemptions resulting from this idea, and other issues. Each side will prepare a working paper on the various aspects of the transport sector and these papers are to be reviewed at a meeting of a specialized subcommittee from the two countries which will present its recommendations to the joint committee to deal with these issues in its next session.

IV. In the Energy Sphere

1. The two sides agreed to continue enactment of the agreement concluded between the Jordanian Oil Refinery Joint-stock Company and the Iraqi Public Organization for Distributing Oil Derivatives and Gas on the storage of oil products for the purpose of export and import in the company's stores in al-'Aqabah in 1986.

2. The two sides agreed to continue to supply the Jordanian domestic market's needs of Iraqi oil derivatives, such as fuel oil and liquid gas, in 1986 in accordance with prices and terms agreed upon by the Jordanian authorities concerned and the Iraqi Public Oil Marketing Organization.

3. The two sides agreed to conclude and sign a protocol for cooperation in the spheres of oil, especially in oil prospecting, production, refining, and distribution and in the exchange of technical expertise and training between the Iraqi Ministry of Oil and the Jordanian Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources.

4. The two sides agreed to continue in 1986 enactment of the contract for the sale of oil concluded between the Iraqi Public Oil Marketing Organization and the Jordanian Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources and to increase the quantities stated in the 1985 sale contract in accordance with terms and prices to be agreed upon by the two sides.

5. The Jordanian side expressed his wish to extend for 6 months the work period of the Iraqi seismological survey team working with the Jordanian Natural Resources Authority, with the extension beginning as of the end of the current period. The Iraqi side responded to this request.

V. In the Sphere of Industrial Cooperation

1. The two sides expressed their staisfaction with the serious steps taken by both sides to boost the activities of the Iraqi-Jordanian Industry company so that the said company may launch its work. An executive board has been formed, the constituent contract's provisions pertaining to shifting the company headquarters from Amman to Baghdad were fully amended, the initial draft of the company's administrative and financial system was drawn up, and the technical report visualizing the company's future projects was prepared.

2. The two sides reviewed the steps taken to implement the contract concluded between the Iraqi Public Sulfur Organization in al-Mishraq and the Jordanian Fertilizer Manufacturing Company to supply sulfur in 1984 and 1985. The two sides agreed that the Iraqi al-Mishraq Public Sulfur Organization will supply the Jordanian Fertilizer Manufacturing company with 150,000-200,000 tons of sulfur in 1986, in the hope that similar quantities will continue to be supplied to the company in future years, provided that an agreement is reached betweeen the two above-mentioned establishments on the supply and payment terms.

3. The two sides expressed their satisfaction with implementation of the phosphate fertilizer contracts concluded between the Iraqi Public Phosphate Fertilizers Organization and both the Jordanian Farmers Federation and the Jordanian Cooperative Organization. The two sides agreed to supply these two establishments with their full needs of these fertilizers in 1986 and to continue to cooperate in this sphere in future years.

4. The Iraqi side expressed its wish to expand cooperation in the purchase of Jordanian potash and to buy 25,000-30,000 tons of potash in 1986. The Jordanian side expressed its readiness to meet the request.

5. The two sides agreed to approve the draft scientific and technical cooperation agreement between the Jordanian Natural Resources Authority and the Iraqi Public Mineral Resources Organization, provided that the two organizations concerned prepare the agreement's final draft.

6. The Jordanian side expressed its wish to export 4,000 tons of concentrated tomato paste to Iraq in 1986 and the Iraqi side expressed its readiness to purchase the said amount at prices and terms to be agreed upon.

7. The Iraqi side agreed to continue to purchase its needs of vegetables for processing purposes from Jordan and will ask the Iraqi authorities concerned to conclude contracts with the Jordanian authorities concerned, provided that the quantities contracted not drop below the quantities contracted in 1985.

VI. In the Sphere of Agricultural and Irrigation Cooperation

1. The Iraqi side stressed its readiness to meet the Jordanian side's wish concerning fish-breeding and fish farms through the exchange of information and through training Jordanian cadres in this field.

The Jordanian side will send its proposals to the Public Fish Resources Organization of the Iraqi Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform.

2. The two sides expressed their satisfaction with the cooperation existing between the Jordanian firms and Iraqi organizations in the sphere of green house agriculture and with the use made of the Jordanian expertise in this field.

The Iraqi side expressed its wish to expand the cooperation in this field and the Jordanian side welcomed this wish.

3. The two sides strongly urge their organizations concerned to expand the cooperation in the following spheres:

- Producing veterinary vaccines, training on the production of vaccines, and supplying Jordan with the vaccines its needs.

- Protecting crops from pests and diseases and implementing pest control.

- Agricultural research and studies.

- Formulating programs for training and for technical cooperation between veterinarians and agricultural engineers in both countries.

4. The two sides reviewed the existing cooperation in supplying Iraq with some requirements, especially with drip irrigation equipment, expressed their satisfaction with this cooperation, and expressed their wish for the continuation of this course.

The Iraqi side expressed its wish to take advantage of the expertise of the Jordanian circles concerned with drip irrigation and sprinkler irrigation.

The Jordanian side expressed its readiness to supply such expertise through the organizations and companies concerned.

5. The Iraqi side expressed its satisfaction with the participation of Jordanian firms producing agricultural equipment in the 1985 Baghdad International Fair and declared its wish to take advantage of such equipment by trying it in Iraq. The Jordanian side underlined its readiness to urge the Jordanian firms producing such equipment to contact the Iraqi Public Agricultural Mechanization Organization for the purpose of cooperation in this sphere.

6. The Iraqi side stressed that priority will be given to Jordanian agricultural production (fruits and vegetables) in case there is a need for such production.

VII. The two sides agreed to hold the committee meeting at the level of the committee's two deputy chairmen in mid-1986, with agreement to be reached on the venue of a later meeting between the two deputy chairmen to follow up on the implementation of these minutes.

VIII. The next meeting of the Joint Iraqi-Jordanian Ministerial Committee shall be held in Baghdad in the final quarter of 1986.

IX. The two sides agreed to put these minutes into implementation as of the date of exchange of the memoranda containing the approval of the minutes by the two countries' authorities concerned.

Written in Amman on 22 December 1985

The minutes were signed on behalf of the government of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan by Dr Raja'i al-Mu'ashshir, the minister of industry and trade, and on behalf of the Iraqi government by 'Abd-al-Jabbar al-Asadi, the minister of transport and communications.

List A. List of Goods To Be Exported to Jordan in 1986 via Iraqi Trade Center in Amman

1. Dates
2. Molasses
3. Barley (both brown and white varieties)
4. Natural vinegar
5. Sugar syrup
6. Sumar Super cigarettes (black pack)
7. Toilet soaps
8. Phosphate fertilizers (triple-super phosphate fertilizer--TPC)
9. Sulfur
10. Parafin wax
11. Various kinds of blankets
12. Floor coverings
13. Hides
14. Wool
15. Agricultural tractors
16. Electrical transformers
17. Television sets
18. Freezers
19. Ovens
20. Air conditioners with spare parts
21. Dry-cell batteries
22. Distilled water
23. Bicycles
24. Electric fans
25. Electric irons
26. Telephone sets
27. Welding rods
28. Spark plugs
29. Plaster of Paris
30. Borax

31. Batches of mosaic - plastic
32. Asbestos boards
33. Slaked lime
34. Al-Hillan stone
35. School notebooks
36. Miscellaneous materials

List B. List of Jordanian Goods To Be Exported to Fraternal Iraq in 1986 via Jordanian Trade Center in Baghdad

1. Veterinary drugs
2. Veterinary vaccines
3. Shaving blades
4. Cigarettes
5. Matches
6. Preserved and canned vegetables
7. Alcohols ('araq, gin, whiskey, vodka, wine, and cognac)
8. Beer
9. Fodders and fodder concentrates
10. Edible salt
11. Cigarette paper
12. Printing ink
13. Reinforcement iron
14. Sesame seed paste
15. Insulation materials, rock wool, perlite, and polystyrene
16. Cement and mosaic tiles
17. Ceramics
18. Sanitary and porcelain fittings
19. Galvanized black piping with a diameter of less than 3 inches
20. Copper taps (water valves)
21. Nails and screws
22. Nickel and chromium bath faucets
23. Electric bells
24. Electric switches and outlets
25. Varied electric groundings
26. Oil heaters and wicks
27. Grains, coffee, and spice toasters and grinders
28. Barbed wire
29. Plastic greenhouses
30. Drip irrigation piping and systems
31. Water irrigation hose
32. Agricultural ploughs, trailers, and instruments
33. Insecticides
34. Pesticides and their complements
35. Varied leather shoes
36. Athletic shoes
37. Plastic shutters
38. Chemical detergents--powders, pastes, and liquids
39. Dry and wet-cell batteries
40. Glue and (al-kaydat)
41. Car paints
42. Ready-made wooden doors

43. Towels
44. [Missing]
45. Frames for prescription glasses and lenses
46. Letter envelopes
47. Empty cardboard boxes for packing
48. Ballpoint pens
49. Sheets and bedcovers
50. Ready-made clothing
51. Paint brushes
52. Putty to hold glass in place
53. Varied chemical materials
54. Plastic and paper bags
55. Gas ovens and refrigerators
56. Scales
57. Olive seedlings
58. Miscellaneous

8494/12913
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STUDY REVIEWS COUNTRY'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Amman RISALAT AL-SINA'AH in Arabic Jan 86 pp 14-16

[Article by Muhammad Salih Jabir: "Industrial Development in Jordan and Obstacles Facing It; Study Presented to Recent Military Industrial Cooperation Seminar Held in Amman Chamber of Commerce"

[Text] Industry in Jordan is newborn. It has passed through several phases which have enabled it to hold the position it is now holding in the Jordanian economy. A historical review of the phases of Jordanian industry's development is very beneficial because of the lessons that can be learned from past experiences, especially since we are in the process of studying the means necessary to encourage and develop local industry so as to create the climate that will make this sector a source of foreign currency that makes up for any shortfall that may develop as a result of a drop in Arab aid or in the remittances of Jordanians working abroad because of the economic circumstances being experienced by the Arab oil-producing countries.

Phases of Industrial Development

The historical periods through which Jordanian industry has passed can be divided into five phases, each characterized by distinctive features. In their entirety, these features stem from the nature of the development and circumstances experienced by the Jordanian economy as a whole and reflected on all sectors of this economy, including the industrial sector.

First, Preparatory Phase

It can be said that this phase covers all the years preceding the period of the semi-organized founding and development of industry which started in 1955 in the wake of the issuance of a number of laws to encourage industry, as will be shown later. This phase was characterized by the presence of unorganized small factories and craft shops which reflected at the time the general economic situation. That situation was characterized by a very low standard of living and by economic confusion resulting from the Israeli occupation of a major part of the Arab land in Palestine and from the subsequent emigration of a large number of refugees to the West Bank and East Bank of Jordan. On the other hand, that emigration helped increase the local skills by supplying the expertise needed to operate small factories and workshops. It also helped

increase the demand for industrial goods and services and to prepare the way for the emergence of planning to establish bigger industries.

The statistics show that in 1954, Jordan had a total of 421 industrial establishments, each employing 5 or more workers, with a total investment of nearly 4 million dinars and a total manpower of 7,218 workers. These figures undoubtedly reflect the small size of the industrual sector at the time--a sector whose contribution to the gross domestic product did not exceed 3 percent.

Second, Founding Phase

As of 1955, the government began to exercise direct activity to enhance the sector. This intervention included the issuance of laws and regulations to protect, encourage, and regulate industry and direct participation in the capital of some industrial firms so as to make up for the shortfall in the sector's capital structure. This phase extended until 1963, i.e., almost the start of the phase of actual planning in 1963. During this phase, the industrial sector's share rose by a large degree and industrial production achieved a growth of 71 percent.

Third, Phase of Initial Planning

The year 1963 is considered the start of Jordan's planning era when the National Planning Board began to prepare the 5-year (1963-67) economic development program which was then amended to become the 7-year (1964-70) program. The objective of those plans was to enhance industrial development and to guide and develop the industrial sector by securing the right financing resources. The plans called for spending 47.1 million dinars in the industry and mining sector with the aim of expanding the conversion industries that produced alternatives to imports. In the 1963-67 period, industrial production grew by 75 percent.

Fourth, Phase of Scientific Planning and of Forward March

The 1967-72 period experienced considerable stagnation reflected in the decline of the local market as a result of the Israeli aggression and occupation of the West Bank and economic resources and revenues needed by the country. In this period, industry encountered difficult circumstances as a result of the disinclination to invest or expand because of uncertainty. The government intervened to tackle this situation and exerted efforts to revive the economy by launching the scientific planning phase which started with the 3-year (1973-75) plan during which most sectors of the economy achieved constant growth, 70,000 work opportunities were created, and the gross domestic product was increased at a real rate of 6 percent in each of the plan's years. The industrial sector figured most prominently in this progress, contributing annually nearly 23 percent of the gross domestic product. This rate exceeded the plan's basic target.

The 5-year development plans then came in succession, initiated with the first plan for 1976-80 and followed with the second plan for 1981-85. We are now on the threshold of the third 5-year plan which covers the 1986-90 period. In

each of these plans the economic sector played a significant role in turning the development wheel faster and in enhancing the growth of the gross domestic product.

Industrial Sector at Present

In 1981, the industrial sector contributed 17 percent of the gross domestic product, if we include the mining industries. This sector's contribution is expected to improve, considering that the initial figures for 1984 show a considerable improvement in the industrial production record figure.

Even though this sector's contribution to the domestic product is growing year after year, we still believe that we have a long way ahead of us insofar as industrialization is concerned, considering that this contribution rate in the industrial countries amounts to nearly 40 percent. We do not view this contribution from an absolute angle but in terms of the strong points and direct contributions it represents for most of the other sectors. The industrial sector's growth and prosperity affect the contribution of the other sectors which participate in forming the Jordanian economy's domestic product, such as the electricity and water sector, the transport and communications sector, the construction sector, and the sector comprising the financial services and other business services. Therefore, any progress achieved by the industrial sector is doubly transmitted to the other sectors. This is why the emphasis has been put on the industrial sector as a mover of the economic development process in all the developing countries because no other sector can play a pioneer role similar to that played by the industrial sector.

Insofar as labor is concerned, the industrial sector currently employs nearly 71,000 male and female workers, a figure representing 12 percent of the total number of workers in Jordan, estimated at 592,000 workers. There is no doubt that this low percentage of Jordanian industry's absorption of labor generally creates a greater desire for the establishment of more industries to absorb more Jordanian workers, especially since we find that the signs of unemployment are showing up among society's educated class.

Characteristics of Jordanian Industrial Sector

Jordanian industry has developed as a result of numerous factors and of the growing demand for some consumer goods which have benefited from either surpluses in volume or from transport. This is why we find that the industrial structure is characterized by a broad base and little elevation, considering that the major part of this structure consists of small establishments, more than 6,000 in number, whereas the major industrial establishments, employing 10 or more workers, number no more than 750 establishments.

The major industries are characterized by the production of semi-processed goods and by a greater contribution to industrial income. Moreover, the worker's productivity in these establishments is higher than his productivity in the craft or manual industries. Most of the industries rely on imported raw and semi-processed materials, thus causing the industrial cost to be high and subject to the fluctuations and changes developing in the world markets.

Jordanian industry lacks a clear policy to enhance and encourage linkage, meshing, and integration between the various industries within this sector on the one hand and between the sector itself and the other economic sectors on the other hand. Moreover, most of the factories are centered in Amman Governorate. This has led to the poor distribution of these activities in the kingdom's various cities and to continued pressure on the various services in the capital area.

Obstacles Facing Industrial Development

Despite the good growth rates achieved by the industrial sector in recent years and despite the sector's increasing importance to the Jordanian economy, this sector is still experiencing numerous problems that affect its performance and obstruct its development and growth in a manner that enables it to achieve the expectations hoped from it and to become a major contributor of hard currency, which is no longer available to Jordan at the same rates as in past years. We will point out some of these obstacles in the following:

1. The unavailability of raw materials needed for production:

The overwhelming majority of the existing factories rely on the importation of the raw and semi-processed materials they need from abroad. This situation leads to increasing the cost of the final products and to reducing their chances to compete in the local or foriegn markets.

2. Samll local markets:

The East Bank's population numbers 2.5 million people and there is no doubt that this small population cannot provide a complete market for any commodity produced on an economic basis. The narrowness of the market has been an influencing factor in the presence of a large number of small industrial establishments which are characterized by low productivity, high production costs, and the primitive methods employed.

3. Scarcity of specialized labor:

The social structure and inherited traditions have led to reducing the size of the working class capable of work (15-60 years age group) to only 20 percent of the population. This is a very small percentage compared to what is acceptable internationally. Moreover, high-school education in Jordan has moved toward academic education and against vocational education and this bias is reflected in the structure of the Jordanian labor market.

4. High cost of services needed by industry:

The high cost of the services and entrants needed by industry is one of the main obstacles in the path of industrialization. The high cost of energy, which is many times the rates prevalent in the area, prevents Jordanian goods from competing with foreign goods, whether in the local markets or in foreign markets. Moreover, the high cost of transporting industrial products is also affected by the high cost of fuels. This represents a heavy burden for the industrialists.

5. Difficulty of marketing at home and abroad:

Jordanian industry encounters significant obstacles in marketing its products both at home and abroad. Previous economic development plans have not taken these problems into consideration, even though the marketing activity complements and assists the production activity. If marketing is important in all the economic activities, then its importance is obvious in the industrial sector because marketing makes it possible to find out the specifications of the goods demanded and desired by the consumers, thus making it possible to improve the production and to innovate. In other words, marketing prevents wasting society's scarce resources.

It is well known that a link exists between developing the industrial sector and escalating the marketing activities because these activities fill the gaps between the producer and the consumer. We believe that studying the problem of marketing the local Jordanian products, whether in the local or foreign markets, is a major responsibility which the economic development programs must undertake.

6. High cost of project implementation:

The high cost of implementing a project in Jordan has become one of the issues that must be studied with utter care on the basis of the experiences undergone by some factories. This high cost is due to the delay in implementation and to the subsequent high cost of production which weakens local industry's ability to compete. This creates numerous administrative, financial, and technical problems. The inefficiency or unrealism of the economic feasibility studies conducted by such industries must be the main reason behind these problems.

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OMANI ARAB BANK RECORDS SUCCESSFUL YEAR

Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 6 Mar 86 p 17

[Text] **Aiming to become one of the pioneer banking institutions in the country, the Oman Arab Bank reported a string of successes in the first year of its establishment.**

Chairman Salim bin Nasser al Busaidi told the bank's shareholders at last week's annual meeting that deposits had increased by 64.3 per cent, loans were up to 64.5 per cent, total assets had increased by 57.6 per cent, while the rate of increase of the total balance sheet had reached 760.3 per cent.

The Oman Arab Bank was established following the participation between the Arab Bank Ltd and the Oman International Development and Investment Co in October 1984.

"We are hopeful that this participation proves to be a successful endeavour towards a joint constructive achievement ensuring to this establishment constant progress and success so as to become one of the pioneer banking institutions in the Sultanate," the chairman said.

The bank participated in loans to the Government, extended a big loan to one of the oil companies operating here, and contributed in loans given to some of the private companies which executed the bridges project and the major part of the roads projects in the Capital Area, as well as to the Oman Refinery Company.

The bank also played a big role in extending all types of loans and facilities to the contractors involved in the Al Bustan project.

The bank's board of directors declared a 12 per cent dividend.

Explaining the bank's expansion plans, the chairman said the directors had discussed the possibility of opening new branches in the interior during the year. Last year the bank opened a small branch in Al Bustan Palace Hotel as a service to the hotel guests. Its other branches are at Muttrah, Muscat, Al Khuwair and Salalah with the main office in the Muttrah Business District.

Others at the meeting held in the bank's headquarters in Ruwi, included deputy chairman Sheikhj Hamoud bin Abdullah al Harthy, managing director and general manager Abdul Kader Askalan, directors Salim bin Hasan Macki, Essa Mohammed al Essa, representative of shareholders including Mohammed bin Zubair.

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FIRST UNIVERSITY IN OMAN TO OPEN

Abu Dhabi EMIRATES NEWS in English 9 Mar 86 p 2

[Text] ABU DHABI: The Sultan Qaboos University, the first in the Sultanat of Oman will open in September. Initially, 3,000 men and women students will be enrolled.

The Sultanate of Oman realised the need for a University following its grand economic leap which created a need for more and more skilled professionals.

Work on the university buildings started in 1983 on an area of 11 square kilometres, about 50 kilometres east of the capital city of Muscat. The University has so far cost 225 million pounds sterling and the teaching hospital attached to its medical school cost an additional 42 million Omani riyals.

The University will start with five faculties: medicine, education, science, engineering and agriculture. Its support facilities include a library with 50,000 books and audio and video tapes, as well as computer, Islamic research and language centres.

The academic year at the University will consist of two terms of 15 weeks each. Arabic will be the primary language, but English will be medium of instruction for technical studies.

Since the University's objective is to inculate Islamic values and intellectual discipline, it is allocating a little less than half of its seats for Islamic studies and education. One of the priorities of Oman's Government is spreading education and to this end it is envisaged that the faculty with the largest share of students should be that of education.

The Faculty of Islamic Studies and Education will qualify students, after four years of study, to work in mosques, courts of law and schools.

Students in the Faculty of Agriculture will study animals, plants, fisheries, soil and water sciences as well as the operation and maintenance of agricultural machinery.

The Engineering Faculty will give separate courses in civil, mechanical, electrical, electronic, petroleum and mining engineering.

Study at the Science Faculty will be for five years during which students will be instructed in biology, chemistry, botany, mathematics and physics. The Faculty of Medicine will award its graduates the Bachelor of Medical Science degree after four years of study. Those seeking to qualify as doctors must take three more years of courses in clinical medicine to be followed by one year as hospital interns. The teaching-hospital is due to be opened in two years.

Among the University's support programmes are a language centre entrusted with improving proficiency in the English language, a centre for educational technology and a college farm to provide practical instruction for agricultural students.

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CSO: 4400/159

AIR CARGO LINK WITH EGYPT TO BEGIN OPERATIONS

Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 13 Mar 86 p 48

[Article by Muzaffar Mohammad: "Egyptian Air Cargo Carrier Starting Oman Operations"]

[Text] Cargo carrier, ZAS-Airline of Egypt, has announced scheduled operations for Oman from Sunday.

It takes its name from Zarkani Aviation Services owned by the Zarkani Brothers with long experience as handling agents and importers and exporters.

The operation of ZAS-Airline of Egypt was announced by Mr. Bashir H. Daoud, Airlines Manager in Oman at a Press conference at the Muscat Inter-Continental Hotel on Tuesday.

Also present were Mr. V.N. Kayshap senior Vice-President of Mezoon Travel; Hikmat G. Suleiman, Vice President of Mezoon Travel and Hisham Shadi, Advisor to the President of Mezoon Travel.

The airline with its head office in Cairo and an operations base in Amsterdam was established in 1982 with one B-707 - 320 C aircraf. Now it operates to New York, Amsterdam, London, Frankfurt, Paris, Muscat, the UAE, Sana'a, Kuwait, Larnaca, Cairo and Khartoum. It has a fleet of six aircraft.

ZAS has plans to fly to Basle to cover Swiss and Italian markets and has applied for traffic rights to Japan, Taipeh, Singapore and Bahrain.

Mr. Bashir H. Daoud told the Press conference that the airline has direct flights for outgoing and and incoming cargoes to any destination in Europe, America and the Middle East and Africa with no trans-shipment.

The Oman operation, he said, has been launched with one flight every Sunday but it is expected to be raised to twice-weekly flights in the next three months.

The airline's turnover last year was US dollar 35 million with a net profit of 3.5 million dollars. An increase of 30 per cent in capacity

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GROWTH IN EXPORTS, IMPORTS REPORTED

Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 27 Mar 86 p 19

[Text] Oman last year achieved an encouraging growth of 28 per cent in non-oil exports despite a recession in the international market, according to a study conducted by the Oman Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Non-oil exports last year increased by RO 5 million to RO 22 million as against RO 17.2 million in 1984, revealed the study report, to be published in the forthcoming issue of the OCCI's journal, "Al Ghorfa."

Fisheries formed the major item with RO 8.7 million accounting for 40 per cent of the exports followed by copper, RO 6.2 million; lime and fruits RO 2.2 million; and flour RO 1.2 million.

A well-conceived export strategy and a breakthrough in new European markets contributed to the boost in fisheries exports, the report added.

Crude oil exports rose from 135 million barrels in 1984 to 164.8 million barrels last year and Japan continued to remain the largest buyer with 109.3 million barrels accounting for 66.3 per cent of the total production. South Korea and Thailand are the other main buyers with 23.2 million barrels and 11 million barrels respectively.

Re-exports, the report said, dropped from RO 109.4 million in 1984 to RO 97.3 million last year and a main item, vehicles and transport equipment, fell from RO 79 million to RO 66.7 million.

Imports increased by 17 per cent, from RO 949.2 million in 1984 to RO 1,110 million last year, despite a spurt in local production, particularly in cement which rose by 50 per cent.

Vehicles and transport equipment topped the list of imports with RO 454.8 million, constituting 41 per cent of the total purchases followed by manufacturing goods, RO 241 million; and food stuffs, RO 145.1 million.

On a comparison with 1984 imports, vehicles and transport equipment rose by 22.5 per cent; manufacturing goods, 15.8 per cent; and food stuffs, 21.2 per cent.

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BRIEFS

NEW TELEPHONE EXCHANGE--A new international telephone exchange of 1,000 lines expandable to 4,000 lines is being built at the Telecommunications Centre. The modern digital exchange which is expected to be ready by the middle of the year is being constructed by Siemens of West Germany. Giving details of the facilities available at the new exchange, Nassir Issa Al Kindy, Manager of the Planning and Projects Department at GTO, told the TIMES that the new exchange will boost Oman's direct dialling network with the world. The existing telephone exchange which was built in 1976 had limited facilities for international telephone dialing. The new exchange which will have a modern digital system as the new local telephone exchanges built recently and will ensure quick dialling and a speedy response from the other end. [Text] [Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 27 Mar 86 p 2] /12851

CSO: 4400/159

LABOR MINISTER DISCUSSES MINISTRY'S RESPONSIBILITIES

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic 15 Jan 86 pp 26-31

[Interview with Minister of Labor and Social Affairs His Excellency Muhammad bin 'Ali al-Fa'iz by Salman al-'Umri: "The Production Phase Necessitates the Re-examination of the Recruitment Policy"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Several outstanding features distinguish the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs from other government sectors. For one, the ministry is virtually a collection of ministries within one ministry, because of its great number of branches and the diversity of its jurisdictions and responsibilities. Secondly, it is a "university" within a ministry, because of its subsidiary technical, commercial, industrial and agricultural institutes and centers, as well as its centers for the handicapped and paralyzed and its reformatories. Naturally, discussing this ministry will take a long time, hold many surprises, and attract much attention, because it is a topic which concerns everyone.

When it first occurred to AL-YAMAMAH to shed some light on this ministry, it contacted the man who sits at the summit of this vital agency, in order to make the interview more significant and give it a more "official" character, first of all, and secondly, so that this social-minded man, who bears in his heart and blood a special love for Saudi society and an ongoing desire to serve it, improve it, and meet its needs, could have a chance to speak out on the pages of this newspaper.

This is His Excellency Muhammad bin 'Ali al-Fa'iz, minister of labor and social affairs, who overwhelmed us with his smile, his ample modesty, and his frank, clear manner of speaking.

[Question] In Saudi society we find a strong inclination towards academic rather than technical education, even on the university level. How can we achieve a balance between academic, technical and vocational education? Are the universities and the general education schools coordinating their activities so as to limit acceptance at universities and direct young people towards technical education and vocational training?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the inclination towards academic rather than technical education is an obvious phenomenon in developing countries in general, particularly during the early stages of development, since young people attach greater value to the external features of a job without considering its returns and its future. The danger of this situation becomes even more obvious as soon as the development process moves on to subsequent stages.

Saudi society exhibits this phenomenon just like the other developing countries. Luckily, however, those involved in educational matters in our country are aware of this fact, and are working to review our educational strategies in order to achieve the desired balance between the two types of education--general and technical--and to meet the pressing need for specialized Saudi technical manpower.

It should be pointed out here that coordination exists between the Ministry of Education and the General Organization for Technical Education and Vocational Training to inform students at general education schools, particularly elementary and intermediate schools, about the technical training institutes and schools and the preparatory and vocational training centers. This is done through organized field trips in which the students become acquainted with the goals of technical education and vocational training, the opportunities for enrolling in such schools, and the role they play in preparing a Saudi labor force of technicians and professionals.

This cooperation between the Education Ministry and the organization also includes the idea of incorporating parts of technical education and vocational training into the curricula offered to general education students, in order to explain to the younger generation the importance of this kind of education and highlight the social and economic value of various types of work, in order to instill and deepen respect for technical workers in the young people's minds.

In the context of higher education, the establishment of the technical college, where classes began 2 years ago, will help reduce the over-concentration of students in university studies. Technical colleges will open up new horizons for the development of technical education in the Kingdom, and will make it easier for students holding general secondary diplomas, and graduates of secondary technical schools, to continue their higher technical studies. This will also prepare them for a secure technical future and will lead to new fields of studies conducive to the proper utilization of Saudi manpower within a very short period of time.

Without any doubt, it is vital for the information media to help acquaint people with technical education and vocational training programs, since the information media can bring the facts to public opinion more effectively. Therefore, we hope that the various information media will work together even more to steer young people towards technical education and vocational training, as a service to both the individual and the society.

The Saudi Technician Has Been Proven Effective

[Question] Some industrial facilities are said to lack confidence in the ability of the Saudi technician. How can this problem be dealt with? What is the practical and theoretical level of the trainees and graduates?

[Answer] In glancing over the production sites where Saudi technicians are to be found, such as Aramco, SABIC, PETROMIN, the electricity companies, the Saudi Arabian airlines, and other industrial companies, organizations and government offices, we find that these technicians have been proven successful in managing production skillfully and capably, which has caused everyone to have confidence in them. The advertisements printed in the local newspapers requesting more such Saudi technical manpower in great part reflect our utmost confidence in them. As long as the situation is so glowing, we shall never have to search for a solution to a non-existent problem.

As for the practical and theoretical level of the trainees and graduates, the agencies responsible for this area, particularly the General Organization for Technical Education and Vocational Training, are fulfilling their duty to improve the students' level of technical education, by giving constant attention to developing study programs in practice and theory, along with cultural studies, so as to create a well-balanced personality in the student. Thus he can consciously participate in the national development process by means of the technical specialization he has acquired.

In its training programs, the organization also follows those methods which will guarantee a good preparation for those enrolled in its vocational centers, whether by developing training programs or by preparing workshops and equipping them with the most modern, highly technical machines and equipment, all of which will help give the trainee superior capabilities and expertise.

In addition, the organization is giving attention to raising the scientific and technical levels of those doing the education and training, by employing skilled, qualified instructors, sending study missions to specialized institutes and universities, and, last but not least, seeking the aid of foreign experts through technical cooperation agreements with other industrially-advanced governments and international organizations which give the latter the chance to develop technical, vocational and administrative programs, courses and systems here in Saudi Arabia.

Technical Institutes and Centers

[Question] How many technical institutes and vocational centers are there at present? How many students are enrolled in them? Do you intend to open other institutes and centers, and if so, where?

[Answer] The technical institutes and vocational centers of the General Organization for Technical Education and Vocational Training are concentrated in two main sectors.

In the technical education sector, there are eight secondary institutes for industrial education, three institutes for technical assistants, and the technical college. As of the end of last school year, there were 4,377 students in this sector. In commercial education, there are 11 secondary schools, in addition to two higher institutes for financial and commercial sciences, and there was a total of 7,345 students in this sector at the end of last school year. In agricultural education, there are 176 students at the model agricultural institute at Buraydah. This brings the total number of technical education enrollees to 11,898 for last school year.

In order to further contribute to the state's development plans, it has been decided to establish a 660-student electronics institute in Riyadh. It is under construction right now.

With respect to the second part of the general organization's responsibility, i.e. vocational education, last school year there were 10,345 trainees in the following four fields: 86 trainees enrolled at the Instructor Preparatory Institute and the media center in Riyadh, 4,660 trainees enrolled in day classes at 25 training centers, 4,413 trainees enrolled in evening classes at those centers,f and 1,187 trainees enrolled at eight vocational preparatory centers.

It should be pointed out that in deciding where to locate technical education institutes and vocational preparatory and training centers, consideration was given to spreading out these educational and training services to all parts of the Kingdom, so as to serve the surrounding towns and villages and provide the population with complete services as well as other advantages and material incentives.

Naturally, more specializations are being offered, class capacities are being increased, and new centers or institutes are being opened in accordance with the current development plan.

Employing Saudis

[Question] Is it true that there is no coordination between the private sector and the government agencies in employing technical manpower in their areas of specialization? In other words, that Saudi technical graduates are not being hired and dependence is being placed on foreign workers? Could you comment on this?

[Answer] For a start, we would like to point out that hiring for government agencies is done by the General Civil Service Commission, in accordance with civil service statutes and by-laws. Employment in the private sector is supervised by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, represented by the labor offices, in accordance with the rulings of the labor law. In this area, the labor law is quite flexible, since citizens and private establishments are not necessarily obliged to hire through the labor offices, even though those offices are best prepared to provide their services in this area free of charge to citizens and employers. It is also a fact that since the beginning of the Kingdom's second 5-year plan, the demand for Saudi manpower has increased greatly, particularly in the scientific, technical and vocational

fields. Therefore, there is no urgent need for more coordination among the agencies involved in hiring citizens. However, with the stabilization of the demand for manpower, and the large number of Saudis graduating from schools, institutes, centes and universities, this coordination has begun to take on new forms, in order to achieve optimum employment and use of Saudi manpower in the various areas of government and national work.

We would also like to stress that the policy regarding recruitment and employment of foreigners is governed by precise rules and conditions, the most important of which says that it is not permitted to recruit and employ foreigners as long as there is a Saudi who can do the job.

Social Insurance Beneficiaries

[Question] What are the developments with social insurance benefits? What groups are covered, and how much is paid out each year to needy families?

[Answer] As you know, social insurance was founded in 1962, at which time the upper limit for pensions was 960 Saudi riyals a year. There have been several increases since then, and the upper limit is now 11.340 riyals a year per family. Obviously, social insurance pensions have increased several times over, due to His Majesty the King's full concern for those groups covered by social insurance--those incapable of full-time work because of illness or old age, women without anyone to support them, and orphans. These groups receive cash pensions. The social insurance system also covers families of prisoners, individual catastrophes, and partial disablement; these categories receive aid, either lump-sum or continual, for as long as the cause continues. In addition, the ministry's social insurance agency provides material assistance, such as wheelchairs for the handicapped, and finances some production projects, such as small kiosks, tailoring shops, and poultry production, to help some families increase their income.

A total of 1.537 billion riyals in pensions and assistance has been paid to social insurance beneficiaries.

Foreign Labor and Its Employment

[Question] On what bases, and according to what standards, is foreign labor hired in the Kingdom, and how are these rules applied?

[Answer] The basic rule in employment is to start with citizens. The labor laws clearly state that work is the right of the Saudi citizen, and that no one else can pursue it unless he meets certain conditions and standards, which can be summed up as follows. The foreigner must have professional skills or educational qualifications, needed by the country, which are not held by any citizen, or for which there are not enough citizens to meet the need. The employer, who must be licensed to pursue a specific activity, must need the services of the worker in that job which he does best by virtue of his qualifications and expertise. The recruited worker must be sponsored by the employer, and must sign a contract with him for a specific period of time. In addition, there are conditions for legal residence in the country, and for obtaining a work permit in accordance with the regulations in effect in the

Kingdom. These conditions are applied in cases of recruitment from abroad, and in cases of internal hiring through the transfer of the foreign worker's services. In cases of transfer of services, the worker's sponsorship is relinquished, and final approval for the transfer of sponsorship must be obtained, since a worker cannot be hired until all this is registered in his official documents. In turn, the agencies involved apply these guidelines and conditions and cooperate and coordinate their activities in many matters pertaining to the hiring of foreign labor in the Kingdom.

Recruitment By the Labor Ministry

[Question] What are the implications of including recruitment in your ministry?

[Answer] Recruitment is one way of meeting the employer's manpower needs. The Interior Minister and the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs felt that now that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has entered into the production, maintenance and operation phase, after having completed the infrastructure stage, recruitment policies and procedures need to be re-examined. This matter was subjected to detailed study by both ministries, and the results showed how important it is for the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs to handle recruitment procedures for the private sector, whereby the employers' requests would be submitted to the labor offices for study and evaluation of the extent of their need. The main goal here is to coordinate recruitment with the employment of Saudis. The employers should first try to fill vacant positions and professions requiring recruitment with Saudis, either on their own or through the labor offices. After that, he can round out his needs by hiring and recruiting foreigners. This matter is more urgent now than in past years, because of the constant increase in the number of Saudis graduating from universities, technical schools and institutes, and training centers of various kinds, levels and specializations. This trend, the fruit of an enlightened educational policy the foundations of which were laid by His Majesty King Fahd bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz, is in keeping with the fourth 5-year plan's strategy for hiring a greater percentage of Saudis in the private sector.

However, there are other reasons for the Labor Ministry to handle recruitment for the private sector, one of which is to coordinate recruitment with transfers and job changes among non-Saudi workers, so that all of these matters can be handled by one agency so as to control and limit the hiring of foreigners in private sector establishments except in cases of extreme need. Furthermore, the labor offices, because they are located close to the job sites and are contacted by employers on various labor matters, are better able to assess the needs and circumstances of the requesters and ascertain how far they are complying with labor law rulings. The employer must be made fully aware that if he has many labor problems, does not comply with the law, and is lax in meeting his obligations, all this will have a negative effect on granting his recruitment requests. We hope that the handling of recruitment by the 37 labor offices spread throughout the Kingdom will help make things easier for the employer at the job site.

I would like to take this occasion to urge employers to make realistic, unexaggerated requests, and to try to be more selective in choosing the manpower

to be recruited. I want to make it clear that those recruitment requests which are the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs as represented by the labor offices involve requests from private establishments engaged in various activities, as well as from farmers. As for recruitment requests for government agencies, requests to bring in the families of workers, and requests to recruit domestic workers, these are submitted directly to the recruitment office of the Interior Ministry, just as in the past.

The Labor and Interior Ministries

[Question] How much coordination is there between the Labor Ministry and the Kingdom's security agencies?

[Answer] Actually, there is full cooperation and coordination between the Labor and the Interior Ministries in this regard. The labor offices send delegates to many of the committees involved in settling disputes over violations, combatting the flight of workers, preventing foreigners from practicing commerce, and other matters requiring coordination. We all want to reinforce the security and stability enjoyed by the Kingdom by virtue of the adherence, by His Majesty's government and this secure country's citizens, to the teachings of the true Islamic religion, and their application of its principles and teachings to various aspects of daily life.

The Labor Agency Study

[Question] From time to time we see newspaper advertisements placed by organizations and companies seeking employees, which place such rigorous conditions that no Saudi could ever apply. What is your opinion here?

[Answer] Advertising in newspapers and magazines about jobs and vacant positions is one way of obtaining manpower. In fact, the Labor Affairs Agency conducted a study which showed that some employers overstate the conditions for filling the positions, which might have the effect of limiting the number of Saudis who could fill them.

More Than 11,000 Saudi Students Employed Each Year

[Question] What efforts are you making to employ Saudi students during summer vacation at organizations and companies operating in the Kingdom?

[Answer] The ministry's Labor Affairs Agency, as represented by the labor offices throughout the Kingdom, takes part in summer programs offered to students, which consist of a seasonal program each year to employ students during the summer vacation. For the pas 15 years this ministry, through this program, has helped find jobs for students at private companies and organizations. This yearly program begins 2 months or more before the start of the summer vacation, when specialists at the labor offices contact commpanies and organizations, tell them how important it is for them to participate in this program so beneficial to both employer and student, and compile a list of the job opportunities available. When vacation begins, those who want to work are interviewed and nominated for jobs according to what is available. During the last five summer vacations, the labor offices were able to employ 57,000 students, or an average of 11,400 students each year.

The Goals of the Gulf Labor Council

[Question] Do you think that there is any jurisdictional interference between the Council of Arab Gulf Labor Ministers and the Arab Labor Organization?

[Answer] We would like to emphasize that there is no jurisdictional interference between the two. The Council of Arab Gulf Labor and Social Affairs Ministers wants to achieve cooperation and coordination in labor and social matters among its member countries, which all together represent an integral unit from the standpoint of situation and circumstances, as well as to stress the principles and goals cited in the Arab Labor Charter. The council's most important goals include helping achieve social and economic development and social peace, establish a secure society in such a manner as to guarantee the citizens' present and future tranquility and stability, increase production and productivity, increase the effectiveness of social and labor progrms, raise performance levels, develop social awareness among the citizens, direct attention to the cooperative movement, and exchange technical expertise in social and labor fields. Ever since its establishment, the council's resolutions, as well as the activities of its follow-up bureau, which serves as the council's secretariat, have been geared towards the achievement of these goals. There is full cooperation between the follow-up bureau and the Arab labor office in carrying out many programs, either studies, seminars or study circles. Both bodies are represented at the meetings of the Council of Arab Gulf Labor and Social Affairs Ministers and at Arab labor conferences, in order to realize greater coordination. Therefore, the activities of the council and the follow-up bureau reinforce the goals and programs of the Arab Labor Organization.

A Guidance Program

[Question] There is said to be a Gulf project for labor awareness, which will deal with the people's social and labor issues and problems. Is this true?

[Answer] What you are referring to is correct. The Council of Arab Gulf Labor and Social Affairs Ministers has asked its follow-up bureau to prepare a detailed plan for a proposed program for social and labor guidance, inasmuch as the member states need such a plan to keep up with regional growth and development. In its last session, held in Bahrain, the council approved implementation of the plan as drawn up, which includes 52 television programs and 52 radio programs. In order to carry out the first part of the project, which consists of producing 26 television programs and the same number of radio programs, 400,000 Bahraini dinars have been allocated and the preliminary steps have been started. There is a supreme committee for the project, consisting of two delegates from each member state, which meets whenever necessary. The project's major goals include developing methods of social and labor awareness and guidance, instilling and reinforcing fundamental Islamic and Arab values, unifying social values and concepts, preserving the positive customs which characterize Arab Gulf society, reinforcing the citizens' positive inclinations towards working, joining and participating in the overall development process, and informing people of the various facets of social welfare and development and the growth of social work in the member states.

The project is being carried out by the Joint Arab Gulf States Program Production Organization, which has already produced several successful programs. God willing, we expect that the above-mentioned project will be produced just as successfully, so that we can achieve the hoped-for goals.

The Charitable Societies' Progress

[Question] Are you pleasd with the charitable societies and with what they are doing?

[Answer] We all know that charitable societies generally aim at raising the social, economic and cultural levels of the environments they serve, and continually use all methods and means to achieve their benevolent goals, so as to translate these goals into social and humanitarian services and projects.

There is no doubt that the Kingdom's charitable societies have made significant, rapid progress in achieving these goals. Whereas in the recent past their services were limited to assistance, these societies now offer many programs and services. With God's help, and through the devotion of all involved, these societies have been able to face up to the rapid growth which our country has experienced and is still experiencing in various areas and the resultant social phenomena and problems which must be dealt with in order to avoid imbalanced social relationships which would affect civil life. Furthermore, the flexibility of work in these societies, the ease of decision-making, the supervision and guidance they receive from this ministry's Social Welfare Agency, and the citizens' support have all led to a high degree of success. This calls for confidence and satisfaction with what these societies have done and are doing, as well as pride in this popular participation which has accompanied state services and which has correlated with social development plans, one of the goals of which, according to the directives of His Majesty the King, His Royal Highness the Crown Prince, and His Royal Highness the Second Deputy Prime Minister, is popular participation. All of this calls for optimism, and makes one feel that the citizen is aware of his responsibility towards his society and therefore his duty towards those citizens who need welfare and the services of these societies. Therefore, we are obviously pleased and satisfied with these societies' efforts. We are increasingly hopeful that such societies will receive continued warm citizen support so that they can continue to make progress in achieving their goals, improving their services, and offering other new services. We call on God Almighty to grant success to all those He loves and is pleased with, and to lead us along the straight path.

Citizen Response To the Societies

[Question] To what extent have the citizens responded by helping the various charitable societies, and are you satisfied?

[Answer] Without a doubt, the Kingdom's citizens, because of their generous Islamic faith which holds that giving and sacrificing is a form of piety, their innate love of doing good, and their feeling that it is their duty to be grateful for the blessings which God has bestowed on them, have always been ready to give money to good causes. They sincerely want to support any

effort which will benefit the country, and they do so for the purpose of earning rewards and merit from Almighty God. Therefore, their participation in charitable societies has been constructive and fruitful, and has taken one of two forms:

1. Helping the societies by joining them and paying membership fees, in addition to taking part in the societies' work by serving on various committees, attending the societies' general meetings, and sitting on their boards of directors. In other words, their participation has been material as well as in effort and work. The charitable societies call these people active members.

2. Financial participation through contributions to charitable societies, both in money and in kind. There are many such people, thank God.

Nevertheless, because of the importance of effective participation, whether through active membership in a society or through financial and material contributions, the societies always need continued support. Effectiveness lies in contributions of effort and work, as well as money. This is what the societies need, and we are all hoping that participation will not be limited to just money or yearly subscriptions.

In general, the charitable societies' success and progress to which I refered in my answer to the previous question is all due to God's help and the citizens' participation. This is no doubt a source of pleasure and satisfaction, but I hope that this participation will increase and become more effective by means of active membership in these societies.

Therefore, I would like the citizens in general to participate more and not stop at just financial contributions. The societies need boards of directors and specialized working commitees, all of which require an alert, devoted human element. I am fully confident that the citizens of this Kingdom will respond to this appeal, and that God willing their material and human participation in charitable societies will increase, through money, effort and work. Thus all our hopes and desires for the kind of effective participation which will lead to these societies' success and material and moral support will be achieved, enabling them to carry out their mission in the best possible manner. I ask God to grant success to everyone in this good deed.

The Orphanages Are Playing Their Part

[Question] Do you think that the Kingdom's orphanages and reformatories have played the nurturing role required of them or not?

[Answer] There is no doubt that these homes have fulfilled their role in caring for this category of citizens. In order to make this clearer, we might ask ourselves the reverse question: What would the situation be if these homes did not exist? Without a doubt, given our country's vast growth in all areas and the accompanying negative trends, the prisons might now be teeming with hundreds of young people, who would be exposed to deviation and who might spend their entire sentence among adult criminals. This would be an unsuitable environment in which they could not be properly reformed so as to return to the straight path as good citizens. The same goes for orphans;

their fate would no doubt be vagabondage. Therefore, I am convinced that these homes have played their part very well and have continually tried to improve their services so as to come closer to perfection. Perfection belongs only to God. Suffice it to say that many children from these homes have been well-guided and prepared, have made their way in life, and have become productive persons of benefit to themselves and their country.

The Handicapped and State Concern

[Question] What does the ministry offer the handicapped Saudi, and how many handicapped persons are there in the Kingdom?

[Answer] One of this ministry's greatest concerns is the handicapped of various categories, be they physically, mentally or socially handicapped. These categories are cared for according to the type and degree of handicap of each. Those men and women with minor physical or mental handicaps who can handle vocational training receive such training at what are called vocational training centers for the handicapped. At present there are three such centers for men, in Riyadh, al-Ta'if and al-Dammam, and two for women, in Riyadh and al-Ta'if. These centers train the handicapped for vocations and professions suited to the type and degree of their handicap, such as tailoring, painting and decorating small objects, operating precision equipment, working on telephone exchanges, office work, carpentry, and so forth.

In a single 20-month training session, these centers can handle more than 500 handicapped persons, including those with upper or lower limbs amputated, paralytics, sufferers from heart disease, the deaf, the dumb, those with impaired hearing or vision, those recuperating from tuberculosis, and mentally deficient types such as morons. During the training course, each person is given a monthly allowance of 400 to 1,200 riyals, depending on whether the person resides at one of these centers or lives outside, or whether he is supporting a family or not. These centers also provide transportation, uniforms, food, and health, psychological and social services. Once the training course ends, these centers, in cooperation with labor offices and the Civil Service Commission, find jobs for the trainees in companies, factories, and government administrations and organizations. Trainees who want to set up individual or group production projects are granted up to 50,000 riyals assistance each.

Paralyzed children are cared for at two educational organizations, one in Riyadh and the other in al-Ta'if, which now have close to 200 boys and girls. These two organizations offer all kinds of social, psychological, medical and educational care.

As for the severely handicapped, at present there are five centers caring for them, in Riyadh, Madinah, al-Ahsa', Abha, and al-Bukayriyah. These centers have about 800 men and women suffering from various disabilities who cannot receive vocational education and whose families cannot take care of them. The centers provide health and social care and comfortable accomodations.

In the case of those who cannot be easily served by these centers and organizations, yearly monetary aid varying from 5,000 to 10,000 riyals is paid to their families. Right now there are close to 11,000 handicapped persons benefitting from this aid, and about 85 million riyals are paid to them each year.

As for how many handicapped persons there are in the Kingdom, there is no precise count. However, we can be sure, praise God, that no handicapped person ever comes to us without receiving care. This matter has received the personal attention of His Majesty the King and the Crown Prince, and the government of the Kingdom has spared no effort to provide all the services and aid necessary to care for the handicapped.

Treatment At the Welfare Homes

[Question] It has been said that most of those working at social welfare homes are not qualified to work in such places, and that some practice uncaring, unsanitary methods. What is your opinion?

[Answer] This charge is disproven by reality. No one who is not qualified for such work, be they citizens or contractors, works in these homes. There is not a single social worker in any home who has not graduated from a school of social service at a university. There is not a single teacher without teaching qualifications, just as there is no physical education teacher or therapist who does not have the appropriate, specialized qualifications. Those attendants who are Saudi citizens have general secondary school diplomas and function as assistants to specialists, working under their supervision and guidance. They have all been trained to work in such homes and organizations. Many persons have applied for such positions, and the authorities have refused to give them these jobs because they were not suited. As for contract attendants, they are all educationally qualified and have long experience working for similar social organizations in their original countries. This is the main reason why they were chosen. Most of them hold either a bachelor's degree in social sciences or social work or have other educational qualifications.

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SYMPOSIUM DISCUSSES ENHANCEMENT OF COUNTRY'S EXPORTS

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 9 Jan 86 pp 6-7

[Article: "AL-RIYAD Symposium on Kingdom's Non-oil Exports; Kingdom Has Entered Phase of Exporting to World; 200 National Firms and Plants Have Been Exporting to External Markets"]

[Text] It was said after World War II in 1945 that Japan would never rise from its fall and there were those who went so far with their pessimism as to say that there would be no "giant" who would stamp his imprints on the world's political or economic dealings map.

It did not occur to the pessimists that a people with human "capability" would rise from the ruins of devastated Hiroshima to chart the map of a "modern technological" approach from within the Japanese factories and schools which have taught Japanese children how to deal with their country's developments and which have produced a new giant. All of America's and Europe's caution and legislation have not been able to stand in the face of this giant's expansion or to prevent it from entering the competition arena.

I do not think that what has happened in Japan is far from happening with other very similar experiences, including the kingdom's choice of the "industrialization option" to make this option the means to achieve the civilizational leap which must be achieved.

In the past 10 years, the kingdom has been, and continues to be, one of the international marketing centers. It is constantly open and has an appetite for imports. But the kingdom is not content with this and has sought through its plans to eliminate the import process and to focus all its efforts on exports, which is something the kingdom has achieved. In the past 3 years, the kingdom has been able to export more than 1,000 local products as the beginning of an early phase of maturation. The rest is on the way.

This phase inevitably requires a complementary effort and full knowledge of the world market's conditions and competition. This is why the need has arisen to establish a Saudi center to develop exports, considering that more than 200 firms and factories have been able to export their goods to the world markets.

Because of the importance of this topic, this week's AL-RIYAD symposium focused on Saudi exports to the outside world. Participating in the symposium were Dr 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Zamil, the Ministry of Commerce undersecretary; Engineer Mubarak al-Khafrah, the Ministry of Industry and Electricity undersecretary; and Dr 'Abdallah al-Dabbagh, general secretary of the Saudi Chambers of Commerce Council. Participating from the editorial staff were Nasir al-Qar'awi, Ahmad al-Duwayhi, Hamad al-'Askar, and Muhammad al-Sulayman.

The symposium began with the talk about the objective and importance of founding the center to encourage Saudi exports. Following is the text of the symposium:

Importance of Project

Dr 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Zamil: The Ministry of Commerce has been devoting special attention to this point. For 3 or 4 years, we have been giving serious consideration to conducting a study on the position of exports and on the conditions engulfing exports, whether at the Gulf level or the level of other countries. In the past 15 years during which all of the kingdom's sectors have experienced an upsurge, we expected certain industrial, service, and agricultural sectors to reach the phase of aspiring for wider markets. Under current international trade circumstances, we find that coordination between the private sector and the state agencies to encourage exports is a very important thing. We find that all the world government systems, whether capitalist or socialist and beginning with the United States and ending with Russia, have special policies and agencies to encourage exports.

Proceeding on this basis, the Ministry of Commerce launched with the Swiss International Trade Center a specialized comparative study to provide some recommendations. The study has been completed and presented to the ministry. The study offers several options and the ministry found that the best option under the current circumstances is to rely on the private sector through the Chambers of Commerce Council, which has launched its activities for the purpose. We decided that this agency center should be launched by the chambers council and by the businessmen themselves. Through studies, the center has set numerous objectives, the most important being the coordination of the exporters' activities so that they may turn to markets other than the neighboring markets and may study them practically, so that they may form trade, agricultural, and industrial delegations to visit (other countries), and so that they may set up specialized centers and designate markets as targets of expansion and guide businessmen, whether in the agricultural or service sectors, to the best ways to reach the other markets. There is also the important objective of proposing and studying ideas to be presented to the agencies concerned on creating a general climate to encourage exports. This is a major responsibility entrusted to this center.

Utilizing Industrial Capacities

[Question] Engr Mubarak al-Khafrah, what comment do you have on the importance of this topic to the kingdom's industrial sector?

[Al-Khafrah] The good initiative launched by the Ministry of Commerce with the chambers council has been a successful one because the issue had not been studied previously with different ideas on how to create a certain channel to achieve this kind of cooperation which puts the businessmen in a single vessel aimed at developing industrial exports. The fact is that our industry has reached a very advanced level which requires the creation of external channels to export its products. The currently available capacities are not utilized in the desired manner due to the narrowness of the market. Consequently, the need has arisen for this kind of channel so that businessmen, in their capacity as the prime generator of this activity, may operate through it. The role of the Ministry of Industry and of the other agencies is to issue laws and regulations that help develop and strengthen this center, especially through economic agreements between the kingdom and the neighboring Arab and Islamic countries. This is in addition to other laws which will be discussed later. The center is not the objective. The objective is to build the basic structure so that the center may proceed along the right path through legislation issued by the various state agencies. The center is in the development phase and until the idea becomes clear, there will be some obstacles which we hope to overcome so that this center may move in the right direction.

Support and Preparation

[Question] The export center's executive role will be entrusted to the chambers council. This is an important task required by the phase. What is the role that you will play in connection with the center or in connection with exports generally?

['Abdallah al-Dabbagh] I wish to thank the Ministry of Commerce for crystallizing the idea of setting up an export center and an export agency. The study conducted by the ministry is a profound and successful study. The state policy has been founded on diversifying the economic bases and the national income sources. It is a foregone conclusion that exports to the outside world are aimed at bartering or obtaining foreign currency. The council's role is support and preparation because exports rely fundamentally on exporters. We offer them the vessel and they move within this vessel, conducting extensive studies on industrial and agricultural projects. When such studies are conducted, the businessmen have to open marketing outlets abroad, especially in countries to which we can export. This does not mean dispensing with state support in several aspects, such as concluding industrial agreements with other countries, supporting exportation, and supplying bank credits to the exporter through an export bank.

Increasing Exports

[Question] Have we reached the phase of moving to the foreign markets and, consequently, of achieving self-sufficiency? Moreover, what is the motive behind the founding of the center?

[Dr al-Zamil] One of the most important motives is the increasing number of certificates of origin issued by the ministry's agencies in all the eastern, western, and central provinces. We have found that the number of factories and farms requesting certificates or origin is increasing, thus confirming the presence of an urgent need for such a center. The export sector has, in fact, imposed itself on the reality. The figures at our disposal show that the current number of export establishments is 380. The number is increasing and any person wishing to export has to contact the ministry to obtain a certificate of origin. The ministry has at present a clear picture of the export capacity and of the countries to which the exports are made. If we examine what goods are exported to what countries, we would be surprised. In addition to the Gulf countries which have represented a good export market in recent years, (with the exports to these countries amounting to 91 million riyals and representing one-quarter of the kingdom's exports to the Arab and other countries), we find exports of which one may not think, such as fish and shrimp exported to Singapore, Hong Kong, Cyprus, and Japan, large quantities of vegetables and eggs exported to Jordan, in addition to the Arab Gulf, sesame seed paste exported to Australia, not to mention other products such as juices and soft drinks exported to Iraq, Somalia, and Sudan, washing powder exported to Yemen and East Africa, and sanitary fittings and manufactured plastic goods produced at a very high quality as a result of the availability of raw materials and new plants in the kingdom. The variety of products and the number of exporters are increasing. As officials, we must focus our attention on this sector and must offer it facilities and incentives so that we may reach the level of the other countries who offer such incentives.

['Abdallah al-Dabbagh] The idea of drawing up a timetable for implementation is a very big idea. We are trying to move as fast as possible. In 2 weeks, the members of the Saudi Export Center's Constituent Committee will meet to discuss the policies and incentives and will select the Executive Board which will then appoint the executive apparatus and launch the practical steps. I wish to stress that it is important for the Saudi markets and Saudi products to study the neighboring markets and to find out the best methods to facilitate future export activity.

[Dr al-Zamil] I wish to add another point. In the latest meeting, we asked the chambers of commerce to turn this center into a reality this year. The chambers council has risen to the level of responsibility and pledged to secure the money to finance this center. The executive committees will follow in the future when the required sums of money are pledged. We fully hope that the center will see the light in the next 3 months.

Export Expansion

[Question] We wish to give a brief idea of the quality of the kingdom's exports to the outside world.

[Mubarak al-Khafrah] Under the canopy of the renaissance of recent years and of the vast construction activity which occurred within its framework, the construction industries developed strongly and expanded at a large scale, becoming capable of meeting the neighboring market's needs at a competitive international level, whether in terms of price or of quality. This is in addition to other consumer goods developed under this healthy climate. (This has given many of the firms producing these goods a competitive edge over similar industries existing in some neighboring countries, such as Iraq). The constant growth of these industries must be protected and a structure must be built to enable them to flourish more and more.

['Abdallah al-Dabbagh] Our industries have achieved the highest degree of quality, productivity, and capital intensiveness, meaning that they rely on machinery rather than manpower because our manpower is imported. For example, we now have 486 plants for construction materials, 500 plants for engineering industries, 259 chemical plants, and 166 wood and paper plants, not to mention 8 major petrochemical plants. They are all capable of exporting in the future and they possess the two basic elements of high production capacity and capital intensiveness. By 1404 of the Hegira, we had 1,609 plants in operation and 3,252 plants licensed, many of which are on their way to begin production. All of them employ advanced technology and it is their duty to look for export markets because the local market and the Gulf market are not large enough to absorb the high production.

[Al-Khafrah] The conversion industries, the construction material industries, and the industries producing luxury goods have reached the point of saturation. In fact, when we speak of the private-sector industries and move on to the other industries which we, as a public sector, seek to establish within the joint framework of the public and private sector and which will be gradually transferred to the private sector, what Mr 'Abdallah al-Dabbagh mentioned becomes correct and these figures change from moment to moment because some plants reach an advanced stage or full capacity and have to search for new markets.

[Question] What is the Ministry of Industry's role in bolstering exports? Will the center go into operation in its initial phases, especially since it needs government support because of its weak experience and small resources?

State Contribution

[Al-Khafrah] The Fourth 5-Year Plan focuses on this issue and the state gives the private sector and the major role in the country's economic development. On the other hand, the state has committed itself to several

things to bolster this role, including incentives and support for this tendency through either founding this center or providing it with the basic structure to survive. We, as government agencies, do not wish to act as trustees of the ideas of the private sector, which is better aware of its interests than the government. Consequently, we must issue the legislation which creates the climate for this sector to surge forward through the founding of export establishments and through studies conducted by various agencies and supported by the state for the founding of the center, including the export insurance agencies. Coordination must be established with the various authorities concerned to exert efforts to reduce or abolish the export (port) fees. There is no doubt that all countries offer numerous incentives for exports. We must focus on reducing or abolishing the port fees on exports and must also exempt raw materials imported by factories from port fees. These are incentives which will help the center march forth. Moreover, the joint committees that we have with other countries must be represented practically to the exports council so that they may discuss what is in the interest of the businessmen and may establish controls and coordinate with agencies in other countries to facilitate the export of products. The economic agreements must also be utilized. When founded, this center will study varied legislation. I can say that the Ministry of Industry and Electricity is prepared to accept these ideas and to discuss them as long as they serve the public interest. But nobody should expect us to do everything because the businessmen have to do a lot. We will develop these agencies to keep pace with the mentality and tendency of the businessmen and we will, God willing, try to achieve these objectives.

Role Reflection

[Question] What is the role of the chambers council in opening new channels, whether Arab or international, of export to the outside world and will the center's role be confined to imports and exports only? What is the role of the trade agreements until the center is founded?

[Al-Dabbagh] The center will be under the council's control and, therefore, will be a part of the council. All its activities will complement each other. The Saudi exports play no direct role so far. The idea of exports is a very new idea. In the past, the role of the chambers of commerce was a receiving role, meaning the role of helping people exporting to the kingdom. This role must now be reversed, especially for the trade attaches abroad who market Saudi oil and petrochemical products. As for the private sector's exports, it must open marketing outlets in the areas which will provide a good export opportunity such as the Arab Gulf, Egypt, and the neighboring countries. After conducting studies, one of the Export Council's basic duties will be the duty of opening export outlets. The council must then go further and study the previously concluded agreements and the means to utilize them in order to enhance Saudi exports to the countries with which the agreements are concluded or to make recommendations to the government agencies on future economic agreements which can be concluded to benefit our Saudi exports. I believe that 90 percent of

the effort to enhance Saudi exports falls on the shoulders of businessmen and of the chambers of commerce. This does not mean dispensing with the state services that have customarily provided indirect, not direct, support in the form of legislation, mutual agreements, the Export Bank, and credit facilities. It is indisputable that without such support, the council will not succeed because it is believed that the state must continue to contribute and help with credit facilities and must link the foreign aid which the kingdom advances to Saudi exports, whether in the form of services or commodities, amounting to 10 percent of the aid.

Factories and Credit Problem

[Question] You have focused in your answer on the credit facilities. Does this mean that there are credit problems?

[Dr al-Zamil] The phenomenon of exports is something new to our society. We are in a new phase resulting from the development of our sectors, not from a drop in market demand. According to what we hear, we assume that the world competes in a free climate remote from intervention, support, and direct and indirect subsidies. We enter the market with products other than petrochemicals, which have different circumstances. We are talking here about industries undertaken by the private sector. We have found in the past 3 months five major factories which made bids worth hundreds of millions of riyals in the neighboring markets. The bids were very competitive but they faced one problem with the owners of the projects who told our factories frankly that bids had also been made by the United States, Germany, and Italy and that the project owners had refused to buy from these countries. But then those making the bids from these countries came with specific financing programs from the export-financing establishments in their countries. Our factories cannot make these promises. This fact has opened a broad horizon to our eyes and we have begun to examine what the other countries of the world offer so that what they offer may provide us and our factories with a guide. Our factories have actually faced the financing problem in numerous markets, even though they are capable of competing in these markets.

Dream Turned into Reality

[Question] What is the solution? Will the export center fill the financing gap or is there a plan to set up a specialized agency?

[Dr al-Zamil] The solution is clear and it has started. The mere talk about exports and their problems, the major meeting on which was held at the council of the chambers of commerce and attended by more than 200 producers, and the ideas presented, including this symposium we are holding today, constitute a part of the talk. We are discussing this phenomenon for the first time. If we had talked about exports 2 years ago, the reader would have said that we are living in a dream. Now the situation has changed, the dream has turned into a reality, and the market is imposing itself. All these facts require us, as officials, to prepare to offer the answers to this sector and to cooperate with it.

Banks and Limited Response

[Question] What is the role of the local banks in contributing to the enhancement of exports and, consequently, what is their national role?

[Al-Khafrah] You have raised a point that is tantamount to one of our concerns. When I worked in the general secretariat for the investment of foreign capital, I repeatedly tried to meet with some brothers in the local banks out of the simple motive of encouraging and supporting industrial capital. Two or 3 years ago, the response was very limited. But there is no doubt now that the banks have a major role to perform and that the market is imposing itself. For a period of time, the banks have experienced the best growth and expansion in their foreign transaction activity and they have, meanwhile, offered the other sectors very little. It is now time for the banks to play an effective role and to take advantage of the current conditions to develop their activities in encouraging and financing industrial investment. We must act in unity with the banks and cooperate with them to form a group, perhaps led by one of the government-owned funds. The private sector (local banks) and one of the government banks, such as the Industrial Development Fund, must unite to create an agency for the development of exports. This will not, God willing, be hard to achieve, especially since those in charge of the banks' executive boards and councils and the government departments are exerting efforts in this direction. We hope that they will achieve this objective. As a government agency, it is not our role to impose such things on the banks. However, we feel that if the local banks play their role, it will bring them a lot of good in the future and that the banks should play a role whenever given an opportunity in order that they may grow in a healthy climate and may contribute to the enhancement of exports.

Establishing Exports Fund

[Question] Mr 'Abdallah al-Dabbagh, you play a role in this regard in the Chambers of Industry Council. What is your comment?

[Al-Dabbagh] I believe that this is an important role. Without the availability of credit facilities, there is no opportunity for future exports, particularly in the initial phase of exportation. The ideas are present. So, what is the role of the banks and of the state funds and can some of the Industrial Development Fund's activities be diverted to encourage and enhance industrial exports? Can the Agricultural Fund be developed or should an exports fund be established? Most countries have funds for exports and export studies. We must examine all these points, proposals, and recommendations. As for the part concerning the state and the government agencies, we will present it as a proposal. God willing, it will be taken into consideration and the government agencies will add to it ideas to help encourage and enhance exports.

Difference of Situation and Availability of Products

[Question] Dr al-Zamil, you have referred to the role of the Saudi Fund for Foreign Development and Financing. The kingdom has a big program and it is evident from its participation that it scores a world record in the rate of aid to national income. Don't you think it necessary to include the national product as a part of the Saudi financing of some projects in the fraternal countries, as has happened in the agricultural sectors?

[Dr al-Zamil] The truth is that there is no country in the world which offers foreign aid without tying this aid to the condition of using its local products. When the kingdom launched its enormous financing plan to assist the brothers in the Arab countries and Islamic countries generally, this point was of no significance to the kingdom because there were no products and services to be exported. But the picture is different now and it is logical to reach the same stage of conditional aid reached by other countries. We are not inventing something new but only applying what all countries of the world are applying. Let me cite a simple incident concerning a project in one of the neighboring countries. Saudi industrialists went to that project, financed mainly by the kingdom and partly by Germany. When they got to the project's center, the officials in charge of the project received them enthusiastically. But those officials were faced with a regular problem, namely that the German government had made it conditional that all materials used by the project be German in order that it may finance 20 percent of the project. The Saudi brothers returned without participating in a project of whose financing we contribute 80 percent. This problem is on one's mind, as it must be. His majesty the redeemed king pointed it out at a number of meetings and sessions with the businessmen and with the leadership. There is acceptance of the conditional aid and what is required now is that the people concerned with implementation develop the ideas and that we reach a conclusion. This approach is logical and there are no reservations against it at the international level. If you look at the United States, which is a capitalist country, you will find that it does not give aid and does not agree that anybody use any product that is not American in a project the United States finances. Even individuals have to use U.S. aircraft in their travels. This is nothing new and I believe that we have reached the phase where we should focus on these points.

Gulf States and Acceptance of Saudi Product

[Question] We hear these days that Kuwaiti merchants and Kuwaiti farms are campaigning against the competition of the Saudi industrial products, considering that the Saudi exports are confined to the neighboring countries because of the impossibility of exporting them to remote areas.

[Dr al-Zamil] We wish to protect before we leap to exports insofar as agricultural products and other products are concerned. We do, of course, have three priorities. There is a marketing crisis in the kingdom that

must be solved. The next step is the neighboring countries. If we reach the point of saturation in these two areas, then we will go beyond. Exports, whether agricultural or otherwise, to the Gulf states are logical and expected. This is a fundamental part and objective of the GCC. On the other hand, the kingdom has concluded a number of bilateral agreements with the Gulf, Jordan, Egypt, Sudan, and other countries to reduce the fees on local Saudi products so as to encourage their exportation. An accounting by the merchant or the producer in any area is expected. But this is the logic of the market and of a free economy. The complaining Kuwaiti merchants or agricultural producers must note that a large number of products come from these countries to the kingdom and that we accept them with an open heart. I am certain that Kuwait's exports to Saudi Arabia are bigger than the Saudi exports to Kuwait. Last year's statistics show that UAE exports to the kingdom exceeded our exports to it. We receive every import from the Gulf with an open heart and all sectors in the Gulf states must open their hearts for the sake of the unified market.

Integration and Fairs

[Question] This leads us in turn to the idea of integrated commerce between the Gulf states. Moreover, what is the objective of holding fairs and have such fairs performed the role required of them?

[Dr al-Zamil] The integration is, God be thanked, present. But if you mean by integration unified coordination, then this is not within the framework of the private sector. With the development of their history, fairs have performed two roles. Before the emergence of the results about which we are talking, the role was to reflect the kingdom's real image. After the emergence of the need to familiarize the various countries with the Saudi products, the Ministry of Commerce set two specific objectives, instead of one objective, for fairs. The first is to reflect the kingdom's real image and the second to display the Saudi agricultural and industrial products in all fairs abroad as a first step toward marketing these products. In the neighboring countries in particular, the objective of the fairs nowadays is to give businessmen the opportunity to market their products. The results of our participation in fairs in Iraq, Syria, and the UAE have begun to show. In cooperation with the brothers in the Ministry of Industry and Electricity and in the chambers council, we have begun to organize fairs for industrial and agricultural products, not just participate in the fairs of other countries and governments. The fairs' objective has actually been achieved and we have accomplished what we seek.

Marketing Role

[Al-Dabbagh] A long time ago, I worked as head of the fairs directorate at the Ministry of Commerce. In the past, the fairs' role was a propaganda role aimed at highlighting the development and revival undergone by the kingdom. In the neighboring countries to which we can export, this role has become a marketing role. Fairs have proven to be the most effective way of marketing because the visitors see the product with their eyes and touch it with their hands. Fairs must be increased in the future.

Demand for Local Product

[Al-Khafrah] Industrial fairs have become a means of marketing. In the past the people who went with the products displayed were factory owners. In other words, the purpose was to highlight the kingdom's renaissance. Nowadays, people specialized in the art of marketing go with the products and return with numerous orders. Through coordination with the ministry, the fairs organized in the neighboring countries are no longer confined to these countries but include international foreign firms. In Dubayy, we participated with foreign industries and this [our] industry was able to compete and sell on an equal footing. In fact, the success achieved by Saudi industry in comparison with the Arab countries that have achieved a high level with their products has been lauded at these fairs. The fact is that our industry has its bases and that the factory owners have gained more experience than others with what is suitable for the area and with explaining the ideal method of use. This, as well as other factors, confirm that these fairs are playing their premeditated role. The infrastructures were secured for our industries and these industries have moved forth toward maturation. We hope that this will lead to an advanced phase of exportation.

Clarification and Advertisement

[Dr al-Zamil] It is certain that business owners are aware of the importance of fairs. When we conducted our first experiment in Iraq 3 years ago, there were 34 participating farm owners and foodstuff producers. In Kuwait, the number rose to 55 participating plants. At the latest fair we organized in Muscat, the number of participants rose to 75 plants and producers. Through this symposium, I wish to urge businessmen to pay attention to and to participate in these fairs, not to be short-sighted, and to rest assured that the effects come gradually as a result of the explanation of the data pertaining to a product, of intensive advertising, and of contacts. Nobody should expect to go to a fair to sign an agreement. The fairs directorate at the Ministry of Commerce is prepared to coordinate and accept a large number of participants. I hope that the businessmen will cooperate and will increase their participation in the fairs to be organized.

Stunning Leap in Agriculture

[Question] After the industrial sector, the agricultural sector needs to receive from the state attention that is tangible to the citizen. We wish to cast light on this important aspect.

[Al-Dabbagh] When we speak of the exports center, we speak of industrial, agricultural, and service exports. The leap accomplished by the kingdom's agriculture is astronomical. In 11 years, our wheat production has leaped from 3,000 tons to more than 1.5 million tons a year. Self-sufficiency can be a short-term and long-term national objective. It is easier for agriculture to export to the Gulf states than to export to the western province because of shipping and other costs. We are thinking of the Gulf

area as a single area. There are numerous opportunities for agricultural exports. We have gone beyond the borders and exported agricultural products, such as mangoes and other raw agricultural products, to the United States.

Marketing All Products

[Dr al-Zamil] Agriculture and industry have a fundamental role in developing this export activity but the main role belongs to the Ministry of Commerce. The farmer's role ends when he produces within the limits of his farm. The marketing problem is a general problem affecting all sectors, as we have already noted. The exports center is concerned with all export activities. We must not give the impression that the exports center is for industry only. It covers everything, especially service exports which are fundamental to the kingdom, particularly the services of consultants and contractors and all kinds of banking consultation services. The kingdom possesses nowadays developed and strong services and the kingdom's contractors are capable and prepared to implement major projects abroad, such as roads and wells. We must not lose sight of this sector.

Kingdom and Difficulty of Marketing

[Question] Regarding the government's role, many governments support the private sector internally. The kingdom has given the private sector a lot. But the matter is different when it comes to competition abroad. How can the government sector act to support our products and push them on the foreign markets, considering that the private sector cannot compete internationally without government support?

[Dr al-Zamil] The study which will be conducted by the chambers council will cover all these issues. We, as a government sector, must do what the others do for their private sectors. Internally, we play a more advanced role than the others do. But we must perform the same role at the external level. Our private sectors have proven their ability to compete abroad as they have proven their competitiveness domestically. The kingdom's market is one of the world's most difficult markets and one of the most competitive. If the national manufacturers and food products manufacturers can sell 30-40 billion riyals' worth of agricultural and industrial products in this market, then this confirms that these products, if they take reciprocal treatment into consideration, can invade numerous markets. If certain conditions are imposed by other countries which subsidize their products abroad, as in the case of demanding that a U.S. contractor be employed to implement a project financed by the United States, then our government must reach this level through the ideas and studies presented now. The minds of the officials at the level of the political leadership are open to these ideas and we must rest assured that the result will be positive, God willing.

Agriculture Complements Industry

[Al-Khafrah] The growth of the kingdom's industry is nothing but the growth of agriculture because this industrial growth provides all the main elements, including processing and packaging materials for the agricultural product. Consequently, agricultural products are converted from products with a small value to products with redoubled value when they are processed and exported. Agricultural growth is complementary to and a main base of industrial growth. Wheat, now that it is available in abundance in the kingdom, is creating high-quality industries which rely on high-quality varieties of wheat, such as biscuits and macaroni of very high quality. We now have numerous food industries that rival and are much better than foreign products. As we have already noted, we hope that the creation of the agro-industries will lead to exporting agricultural crops as fully processed products, not as raw materials, thus yielding an added value. This is in addition to the creation of agricultural marketing firms and product-preservation firms. The presence of these channels will play a further role in enhancing agricultural production. State support emanates from economic cooperation and exchange. When we speak of economic agreements, there are numerous countries, especially Arab countries, which lack numerous services and which should get these services through economic agreements with the kingdom instead of getting them from abroad. The presence of the businessmen concerned to impose these demands is a must. The government employee does not know everything. He tries to do his utmost but at times information is lacking or unavailable at the right moment due to the absence of the people concerned. Projects implemented jointly by governments or projects implemented jointly with businessmen in the neighboring countries create a kind of cooperation. As for studies, the local consulting firms must establish a sort of relationship with the neighboring countries concerned with a study in order to obtain full data and, consequently, the technical force is linked with the outside world.

Services and Ambitious Plans

[Dr al-Zamil] I want to underline the word "services" so as to bring it closer to the reader's mind. We have experienced two examples in the kingdom where centers for the repair and maintenance of power plants have been established. Whereas these maintenance centers focused on the kingdom previously, they have become nowadays centers serving the Middle East. Enormous equipment comes from the neighboring countries to undergo maintenance in these centers which have thus become some sort of a service export. The other example, already announced by His Highness Prince Sultan bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz, is the establishment of the center for the maintenance and repair of aircraft engines within the framework of the economic balance program which costs more than a quarter of a billion riyals. When this center is completed in 3 years, the kingdom will become, God willing, a basic center for the maintenance of aircraft engines in an area extending from India to East Africa and from the Mediterranean Sea to the Arab Sea. The kingdom has the expertise because of its development and because of the ease with which its technical capabilities are developed. The society is

open to joint projects and the foreign investor has confidence in this market. When the investor looks around, he finds that the kingdom offers the best security, ideological and investment conditions to protect his investment, which is something fundamental for the investor. The foreign partner has committed himself to more than 500 million riyals and this is no small amount. The center will be one of the main centers exporting the kingdom's services in the near future.

We Have Good Industrial Base

[Al-Dabbagh] It is my belief that the kingdom should be an industrial base serving the Arab world in its entirety or, at least, the Arab East area surrounding us. At least, the kingdom has completed its social infrastructures, meaning the economic, financial, educational, and other institutions. What is more important is the Saudi businessman's international expertise. Capital is available and we have the opportunity to set up new industries founded on a high technology that dispenses with the importation of manpower. Second, we do have a high production level. For example, if the United States exports a certain commodity to the kingdom, it is better to set up a joint project in the area to produce and market this commodity. We have all the industrial requirements. As to how to utilize them in the future, I believe that joint projects and economic balance will serve the purpose.

Businessman Has Role in Familiarizing with Product

[Question] Now that the right climate has been created for local production, don't you think that there is a need to advertise this production adequately?

[Al-Khafrah] We in the ministry still feel that there has been a failure in advertising and introducing the local products, whether at home or abroad. It is not the Ministry of Industry's duty to do this advertising. The ministry has tried to organize regular fairs in every city and a fair for industrial products is held every month. These fairs play a role in introducing, advertising, and marketing products. Moreover, they print information and supply it in large volume. We seek to make this information constantly available to the consumer, whether in the form of firms, the private sector, or foreign circles. The specialized newspapers can play an informational role in introducing products internally and abroad. There are also firms which perform this role. These firms specialize in advertising and we work with them to introduce and advertise the national industry. These firms are prepared to come here and cooperate with the factories and the ministry has provided the firms with all the means. There remains the role of the businessman for whom the conditions have been prepared and who must play his propaganda role through the best channels. I do not advise any factory, firm, or business to advertise that it advertises. It is the duty of these businesses to find out how widespread is the advertising medium and how well it is received by the citizen. There are chambers of commerce through which the advertiser can find how important a publication is and can then make his choice. To put it briefly, there has to be

well-studied advertising and the consumer should not be expected to come to the producer if the latter does not advertise. We have advertising agencies that are developing nicely. All the producer has to do is to select the best agency and the manner in which he wants to advertise. Moreover, he must not rely on advertising solely and must employ marketing people to gather information. We hope that the center will perform a collective role so as to spare producers the cost. But marketing people sent by the producer to the consumer directly to agree on the marketing terms and on the method of sale cannot be dispensed with.

[Dr al-Zamil] A channel which was previously remote from the market has now been opened, namely television. Channel 2 has begun carrying commercials and we hope that all the channels will do the same. It is certain that this channel will play a fundamental role in introducing Saudi services and products to the consumers, whether in the Saudi market or in the neighboring countries. The kingdom hosts millions of residents who use our products. When these residents return to their countries, they will either be importers or representatives for their countries or will persuade their friends to purchase Saudi products. The television commercials will have a positive impact on the local market. The decision to give the Saudi products and services priority in order to avoid the competition of the foreign product, which is prepared with its commercials and its films, is a very wise decision. This gives us an opportunity to compete, especially since the Saudi products are at the beginning of their advertising programs and films and find their way in this new sector. We fully hope that the private-sector people will not hesitate to use this channel in order to reach the consumer.

Different Situation

[Al-Dabbagh] From our field studies and observation, we find, regrettably, that the marketing and sale outfits of the majority of the Saudi industries are largely inadequate. This is a natural result of the upsurge and of the days of high demand when there was no need for marketing because the producers sold everything they were producing. The situation is different now that the economic balance, which is the normal condition of the economy, has been restored. Therefore, the factories' marketing and sale outfits must be developed and this development must be intrinsic. We should not expect the Ministry of Industry or the Ministry of Commerce to assist directly. This has to be done by the factory owner because it is part of his fundamental investment. As for the television commercials, they are a blessed step and we encourage Channel 1 to participate because Channel 2 reaches 30 percent of the kingdom's viewers. The first impression is important in the long run. I favor short commercials for national production only, whether agricultural or industrial. If this is not done, then we will suffer from an inundation of foreign goods subsidized by their governments. It would be illogical to open the television to advertise foreign goods at the same price charged the Saudi producers. If the door is opened to all in the long run, then priority should be given to the national product which should be charged one-quarter or, at most, one-half of the rate charged for advertising foreign products.

We Must Not Ask for the Impossible

[Question] Shouldn't there be centrally supplied information, considering that there are numerous government agencies and that the exchange of information between them is nonexistent? Why isn't information supplied to make up for a deficiency in the local market?

[Dr al-Zamil] We must be realistic and must not ask for the impossible. I always say that we should demand that which concerns the world. We do not want to invent something new and I do not think that there are centers in the world to tell a consultant about a local product or guide the consumer. In the other countries, they look for the producer. It is difficult to ask the Saudi producer to shoulder all the responsibilities in his development phase. This does not mean that information is not available. It is available in pamphlets when the consumer wants it. This information is scattered because everything is changing. The problem is that all producers are facing a vastly competitive market and an inundation problem. At the same time, the producers are facing other problems because they are new to the market, including technical problems and problems of supplying materials. The phase we are undergoing is not an easy phase. It suffices that millions of these products have invaded millions in our local market in the kingdom. This is an enormous accomplishment.

There Are Simple Mistakes

[Al-Khafrah] Some fairs and some producers may still be deficient. This is an educational phase from which we learn. Fewer mistakes are made from one fair to another and information is made ready for the visitor. We now have marketing and the people with know-how have a role in preparing the information. Moreover, the Saudi investor, unlike others, does not gather this information. The thing is to educate both the consumer and the producer. There is a scattering of information but there is also rapid progress and information is produced on time. We hope that the computer centers and the consulting firms will create some markets to gather information. No person will gather information without something in return. There have to be special circles concerned with preparing well-studied information and selling it so that it may act as a reference. The role of analyzing this information belongs to the private sector. There is an ambitious plan in the economic balance policy to create some sort of a data center. This center will be crystallized soon, will be announced in detail, and will, God willing, be beneficial.

Private Sector's Responsibility

[Al-Dabbagh] The information is available, but not centrally. So far, there is no visualization for a data center to which anybody can go to obtain whatever information he needs, meaning that there is no international-type "data bank." As a commercial activity, this is the responsiblity of the private sector. If we consider the biggest data bank in the United States,

we find that it was not set up by the state but by a specialized firm. The chambers of commerce can operate simply and I urge the Saudi businessmen to set up an international-type data bank.

[Question] What is the role of the chambers of commerce in providing services to the Saudi contractor, especially contractors engaged in implementing projects in neighboring and fraternal countries?

[Al-Dabbagh] Insofar as the chambers council is concerned, the Saudi contractors sector consumes more than half of our time. We exert major efforts to create channels to assist the Saudi contractors who are experiencing hardship at present because the infrastructures have been completed and because the demand is low. The council's role is one of guidance and support, such as providing information and contacts with the governments or chambers of commerce to which we will export contracting services, God willing.

Ending Inundation Policy

[Question] Dr al-Zamil, you have referred to the inundation from which the local and Gulf markets suffer. These markets are targeted by the international products. Do you think that the existing regulations are enough to maintain the flow of local products and, consequently, to enable these products to take their natural position or are obstacles placed by individuals who seek to maintain the presence of foreign production, especially by businessmen who are not partners in the national production but who still represent symbols in terms of the national capital?

[Al-Zamil] Inundation is a phenomenon present in numerous markets characterized as open and free-economy markets, as is the case in our markets. It is indisputable that the consequences of inundation are damaging if a market is targeted. We are convinced that there is inundation in some of our sectors. This is why the three [as published] ministries concerned, namely the ministries of industry, commerce, finance and agriculture, have taken certain positions by providing protection to certain Saudi products, amounting currently to 50 products. The fact is that the main factor behind these positions has been in most cases the phenomenon of inundation. We, as a ministry responsible for these sectors, will not hesitate to move quickly to protect any sector which we believe is subjected to inundation. Inundation is a phenomenon that is unacceptable internationally. When a country resorts to protecting its market from inundation, this does not mean that its local products are a failure. It means that there are numerous premeditated elements. Let me give you the gas and gas cylinder industry as an example. The kingdom was one of the major importers of gas cylinders from Italy and England. When the national company was compelled to deal with some businessmen to build a plant in our country, we were buying the gas cylinder at a certain price. When they learned that the plant would begin its production in 3 months, we noticed that they reduced the price in their final bid by 20 percent in order to persuade us not to buy from the local market. They also tried to persuade us that the product would not

be useful. This is why we decided to buy directly from our plant, considering that we are partners in the plant through the gas company. At the same time, the plant was given a 10 percent advantage over the foreign product. Since the plant started its production, it has been expanding and the prices have been dropping. The plant is now increasing its output of various kinds of bottled gas. Had we ignored the importance of the presence of this plant and ignored the damage caused by the inundation, we would not be today one of the countries producing this kind of product which we have begun to export to the neighboring countries.

Counter Export

[Al-Khafrah] There are several types of inundation. The issue of proving the presence of inundation and of developing the means to overcome inundation has been debated frequently. There is guided inundation, embodied in reduced prices aimed at destroying the competitor altogether. There is direct inundation, embodied in state subsidies designed to help the export of the products of a country's plants in order to obtain hard currency. Consequently, the markets are inundated by such products at certain times. There is no doubt that our market is open and that it is a most competitive market, despite its small size. We must give consideration to steps to create export industries which constitute a fundamental part of the diversification of income, especially since the national industry is contributing nearly 9 percent of the fiscal national product. We must now take numerous steps and prepare for the so-called counter export. When this happens, especially to some countries and not just to a certain country engaged in inundation, through creating the basic structures, such as reducing port fares and preparing adequate data in this regard, we would hope that some consuming government agencies become aware of this outlay in the wake of the drop in prices as a result of the increase in local production, that they would give the local product an adequate chance out of true patriotism, and that they would set themselves as watchdog over this production, giving the national industry a special advantage over the others, considering that this will be reflected in benefits to the country in the long run. The citizen or the official must also put himself in the place of the factory owner. Many brothers have cooperated with us. We all represent national production and must not allow ourselves to be the target of others.

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EXPANSION OF AIRPORT, LAND REFORM, COUNTRY'S OCCUPATION DISCUSSED

London MEED/THE MIDDLE EAST'S BUSINESS WEEKLY in English 15 Mar 86 p 10

[Text] **Airport expansion moves ahead**

The first stage of Kabul international airport's expansion has been completed, 30 months after work began. The scheme entailed extending the runway by 700 metres, resurfacing 2.8 kilometres of the existing runway and a taxiway, and building a terminal for domestic flights.

The job was done by the Construction Affairs Ministry, with Soviet help, the state-run Bakhtar News Agency reports. The cost of the project has been estimated at $20 million; of this, 95 per cent has been met by a loan from Moscow. The expansion is expected to be completed in early 1987.

The only commercial airlines using Kabul are ***Ariana Afghan Airlines*** and the Soviet carrier ***Aeroflot***, which has a weekly service. The expansion is needed to cope with the huge increase in Soviet military transport aircraft bringing in troops and supplies. Air travel has become the safest means of transport between the capital and the Soviet border.

IN BRIEF

- There have been some problems with the introduction of land reform, irrigation and co-operative programmes, producing a situation "incompatible with the revolutionary process of society," the Bakhtar News Agency reported in mid-February. Citing editorials in two Kabul dailies – state-owned Anis and the government publication Haqiqat Engelab Saur – the agency said efforts to overcome this situation must be redoubled.

- The 1985 opium crop totalled an estimated 300-400 tonnes, compared with 140-180 tonnes in 1984, according to a late-February report from the US State Department. The US Drug Enforcement Agency has suggested the total could be higher: good weather and a 40 per cent rise in the opium gum price at the Pakistan border could increase it to 880 tonnes. Afghanistan and Pakistan remain the leading sources of illicit heroin for export to the US and Europe, the department says.

- The UK "will take every opportunity to press for the implementation of the UN resolution on Afghanistan and the withdrawal of Soviet troops," Secretary of State for Foreign & Commonwealth Affairs Geoffrey Howe says. He was speaking after an 11 March London meeting with rebel leader Abdul Haq. Kabul sent a protest note to the government about the hospitality offered to Haq, who also met Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher; this said London should "stop provocative acts against Afghanistan or be responsible for the consequences," Kabul radio reports.

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PAPER DISCUSSES WOMEN'S PROBLEMS WITH PRIME MINISTER

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 2 Mar 86 p 22

[Interview with Prime Minister Musavi by ZAN-E RUZ; date and place not specified]

[Text] Political service. On the occasion of Woman's Day, which coincides with the blessed birthday of Fatemeh Zahra, the grand lady of Islam, ZAN-E RUZ magazine discussed with Prime Minister Engineer Musavi the issues concerning women in our country.

In this interview, the work of the government in regards to women and their rights, Article 21 of the Constitution, the participation of women in social activities, insurance for widows and women without guardians, the effects and insurmountable consequences of women's problems, and the need for an organization to attend to the issues suffered by various strata of women were discussed. Considering the importance of the role of women in the revolutionary society, in the footsteps of women such as Fatemeh Zahra and other brave women of Islam, as well as the need for a serious, expansive movement to secure the rights of women, KEYHAN reprints this interview from ZAN-E RUZ. It is hoped that in this area, more efforts will be made by the experts and those involved in Islamic and social issues.

[Question] What bills have been presented by the Cabinet concerning women and their rights?

[Answer] The government has not offered any specific bill in regards to women and has not concentrated on this issue. Only a bill regarding part-time employment of women has been offered.

In my opinion, when one speaks of women in terms of the law in the society or the place of women in connection with the executive system or the laws, mostly it is from a judicial perspective, for example, the issues of marriage and civil laws. We have so far had no concentrated effort to find ways to improve

the condition of the sisters in the society; the laws are usually general. For instance, the tax laws, employment affairs laws, economic laws and the like are discussed in general terms. Nothing has been done specifically.

[Question] Why has nothing specific been done so far concerning women?

[Answer] The reason is that there is no place in the society in which the issues of women are discussed and studied in legal terms. I will give you an example. And this does not only concern the executive issues. It seems that after the revolution, we should have a specific viewpoint in regard to the special issues of women in our society. This must be done by the sisters themselves. It seems that with the preoccupation that exists in every organization, they have not been able to do anything specifically in this area. If they offer solutions, certainly the Majlis will welcome them and work on them.

[Question] You said that there has been no place so far in which to discuss the issues of women. Does the Majlis not have the responsibility to study the bills and proposals?

[Answer] We now have special problems in connection with women in the society, which must be studied. In the past, there was an organization called the "Women's Organization," which, more than being at the service of women, served to try to stabilize the foundations of the regime and was at the service of the past regime. It seems that we lack a centralized organization to follow up the problems of women in the villages and cities and the void in this regard is strongly felt.

In the past, work was done only for the well-to-do strata of women and the news that we receive today from various strata of women, including workers and employees, requires the establishment of a centralized unit under the supervision of the women themselves which will present solutions for their problems. Solving these problems does not necessarily require the ratification of laws. Many of these problems may be solved by the issuance of a circular letter or a ratification.

[Question] What can or will the government do to create this organization or center?

[Answer] At one time, I thought that we should create a deputy office for women's affairs in the Office of the Prime Minister and put one of the bright revolutionary sisters in charge of it. Thank God, there is no shortage of such persons in our society. These sisters, with the help of the representative sisters in the Majlis and sisters who work in the press and the universities, can organize such a force. But so far, we have had implemental problems in connection with this issue. In addition, the necessary mental framework has not as yet been created. Once these two problems are resolved, the creation of this deputy office will be very effective.

[Question] Do you mean creating the mental framework among the people?

[Answer] I mean among all the people. The press and the media can play a role in this. For example, I saw a very good picture in one of the evening newspapers showing the president presenting a letter of commendation to a sister who is a good author. Publishing such a picture can instill in the people the awareness that women can be active in many tasks, which can be followed by the creation of a special women's organization or various responsibilities on the executive level. We do not have this background now. At the present, it seems that women's issues are raised in isolation, apart from the issues of the whole society, and have no influence in the decision-making and effective organizations of the country, such as the Cabinet and the Majlis. This problem must be solved somehow. The media has an important role to play in this regard. ZAN-E RUZ alone is not sufficient. KEYHAN must also open discussions concerning this issue so that this idea can be accepted--for instance, throughout KEYHAN--and work can be done on it. Even ETTELA'AT and the Voice and Vision can actively deal with this issue.

[Question] Considering that the issue of women must be dealt with extensively in order to achieve results (we also agree with this issue), this point contradicts your statement concerning the clarification of our viewpoint in regards to women since the revolution.

[Answer] Naturally, the true initiative and activity involving this issue must stem from the sisters themselves.

[Question] Pardon me, but, besides initiative, this is an expansive social task; the task does not merely involve initiative.

[Answer] You see, when a task is created in the society, when there exists a demand, our sisters are present on many effective social scenes, which is unprecedented in many countries. But in some parts of the society, such as the executive and legislative organizations, there has been little motivation or demand on the part of sisters. I will give you an example concerning the Majlis. In the Majlis, there are a number of sisters at the present time--and this shows that there is no prohibition in our country to prevent the presence of the sisters in the legislative branch--but you will notice that the number of those volunteering to be representatives is very small. Now, it might be said that the influential political groups that endorse the candidates have not nominated women, but I think that if, for instance, 50 sisters from various cities become candidates, well, these endorsing groups would have a wider choice, and naturally this would increase the percentage of sisters in the Majlis. We can do the same in all areas. In regards to the same issue that you pointed out, we do not sense a demand or motivation for the creation of such an organization or center. And if there is, it is not manifested anywhere. This is something that, in my opinion, must be raised more by the sisters. Various organizations are so involved in their own problems that they do not engage in this issue specifically, and, generally, the executive organizations have long been accustomed not to think about this issue. A revision must be made concerning this issue as well.

[Question] You said that women do not volunteer to participate in social activities; do you not think this is related to the status of women and the limited number of bills that have been offered to the Majlis, and then only in regards to the judicial rights of women? You made no mention at all of the increased stature of women.

[Answer] If we take the status of women in its common sense, women in our society have a status that has never existed in any other society. Certainly, you cannot find any other place in the world where a woman appears at the Friday prayers to speak to several hundred thousand people in a religious ceremony with the acceptance of the society, or that the leader of the revolution himself gives a status to women that is much higher than that of men. Therefore, in my opinion, in spiritual terms and values, the status of women is established in the society. But what we lack is the establishment of the role of women in effective executive and legislative responsibilities, in the sense that we now do not see an appeal on the part of women in the society to study the issues particular to women. For instance, in regards to women's rights or the bills that can be passed or programs that the government can have in this regard, no specific suggestion has been made by the sisters so far. Not that problems are not expressed occasionally, but these problems never crystallize in their final form as laws and ratifications that can be presented to the Majlis or the government. And this is a deficiency that exists now. This is not related to the status of women in general at this time in our society. Thus far, advantage is not taken and is not being taken fully to improve the situation of our oppressed sisters in the society.

[Question] Why is Article 21 of the Constitution, which concerns women's rights, not given priority for discussion in the Majlis? Will this not harm the family as a fundamental social institution and, on the whole, the society?

[Answer] Yes, it will certainly cause harm; but the problems that exist in our society have various aspects, and those problems are raised before the people and various organizations to see and judge.

But in regards to the issues of women, such is not the case. For example, in regards to economic issues, we have organizations such as the Ministries of Industries, Agriculture, Plan and Budget, and Economy and Finance, which constantly point out the weak points, strong points and the needs and problems and bring them to our attention. The fact is that, in regards to women, no organization exists that can raise this issue for judgment. The press and the media also do not pause particularly to create an atmosphere to attract minds to the particular problems of our women in the society in order to solve them.

[Question] Under the circumstances that no organization exists to bring significance to women's issues, in your opinion, should the government not work on the role of women in the family and the role of the family in the whole society and to take the first step to eliminate these conditions?

[Answer] Yes, now the government tends mostly to deal with the general problems of the people, and it is in this regard that it usually discusses proposals, ratifications. But in my opinion, since the sisters can best

scrutinize and analyze their problems, obviously, they cannot be quite as clear for the government. For example, the problems in regards to the sisters that work in factories, the working sisters of the southern part of the city, women without guardians, problems that women have with their husbands or in their families, and sometimes certain problems that are created in a society under change are heard. But still, because issues such as the war or economic issues or critical issues that exist in all sectors, we have not had a center that can make these social issues significant. Since last year, we created a center in the Office of the Prime Minister to study all social issues, not those of women in particular, from a sociological perspective and to give its views to the government in regards to how to deal with the issues. Even that group, given its male composition, could not address the issues of women. This is our problem, and I believe that if publications such as ZAN-E RUZ address these issues in particular, they might be able to offer solutions.

[Question] You spoke about creating an executive deputy office in the Office of the Prime Minister. When do you think this idea will materialize?

[Answer] The issue of essentially what the duty of this deputy office can be must itself be discussed. This duty should be clear to us in general terms or the government may explain what this duty is. But, I think this deputy office can be created when, firstly, by clarifying and identifying the duties, we see what goals it should follow. Secondly, the grounds for this deputy office must exist so that we are able to make use of the creative minds of our most revolutionary women. We should not just create a deputy office without having in practice a sufficient number of thinking, active sisters with open, strong, revolutionary, Islamic minds who can deal with the issues and create a movement and a wave in this area. In other words, we should not in practice create a place without a plan, without being able to send something to the government for decision making or to the Majlis, or not being able to create an orderly research organization to study the situation of the women in our society throughout the villages and cities. These are the problems that make it difficult to make a decision in this regard.

[Question] Is the essential problem the fact that duties are not clear?

[Answer] Duties and the necessary grounds for the participation of the necessary manpower. We now have a shortage of positions that are a partly social and cultural, for strong individuals who are planners themselves and who know our revolutionary society. These problems are unlike technical problems for which strong people with open minds can be absorbed. When this deputy office is established, we will have a shortage. We cannot make use of men, therefore we must use the sisters, because they can deeply enter the problems of the sisters throughout the society. It is vague to me personally to what extent this deputy office can absorb the strong, revolutionary and aware individuals in the society from among the women and to be a strong deputy office, because if we establish an ineffective office, in practice we have created nothing for women but in name only and will be unable to offer the necessary services in this area, which will be more damaging than helpful.

[Question] Has the issue of a deputy office not been accepted among the officials or the women?

[Answer] Well, that is also a problem; but it can be solved. In other words, if we are able to offer a clear framework as to the purpose for the establishment of the deputy office and what type of people are going to be in it, it can be easily accepted. But when these duties are unclear, the framework of the duties is not very clear either. On the other hand, it is not very clear to us how much of a force we can absorb. In short, problems such as these make the acceptability of the idea more difficult for the officials and various organizations. But in any case, I think seriously about this issue, and the sisters in the magazine should help bring the discussion up and offer solutions.

[Question] Since you referred to the issue of executive work in this regard, why can we not have a woman minister? Are the forces involved related to being acceptable to the society?

[Answer] In regards to the forces, I believe that we have distinguished individuals among the sisters. In this area, I have no doubts. In other words, we have distinguished individuals in the true sense of the word who may even have sufficient management abilities. Only, in my opinion, the social background in this work is weak.

The social grounds that I am mentioning does not mean that there is no growth among the women in our society. There is growth. I refer to the grounds in connection with the selection of ministers, which in our country is a rather difficult process compared to that of other regimes. In other words, there are three decision-making institutions, the president, the Majlis and the prime minister. When the issue of government was being discussed, we announced everywhere that individuals should be nominated for the ministry. All various organizations, offices of governors general and other organizations nominated certain individuals, but we did not even have one woman. In other words, they had not even thought of it. And since the names came from various kinds of people, we cannot say that one particular group did not think about this issue. We discussed it with everybody. The Friday imams, the ministers, even the representatives and others were asked, but not one sister was proposed for a position. This does not indicate that the sisters have not had growth or that there are no managerial, competent and strong women. But it means that the necessary social grounds for the idea of the participation of the sisters in various positions does not exist, and this must be created. This must be created in regards to the Majlis and all the official responsibilities as well, because our Constitution has left the door open in this regard. The speaker of the Majlis also spoke on this matter once in a Friday prayer session. There is no reason why the sisters cannot be used, but the press and the media must prepare the necessary grounds. Then, the selection of sisters for government positions and the like can take place and this idea will be accepted. The ministries will also select them, and then all women will be able to participate in various positions.

[Question] The bill on insurance for widows and women without guardians has not been offered to the Majlis by the government for two and a half years. Considering the distressing situation of this stratum of women, could you tell us the reason behind this problem?

[Answer] This issue has seriously been discussed in the government and the government immediately takes the financial burden for any issue which has been raised. This issue is always problematic. We even want to create a small industrial unit and even for certain services--if we do not take into consideration revenues for it in the budget--we will have to borrow from the Central Bank, which means taking money from the pockets of every individual in the society, most of whom are oppressed people. It might even escalate high prices and inflation, followed by extensive, complex cultural and social problems in the society. When there are social problems, we must also look for social ailments. For this reason, always in implementing some of the articles of the Constitution which are costly, the government thinks about the work that it does, calculates, and makes sure that it is capable of doing the task. And if a decision is made, it should be one that can be implemented well and the budget that is presented to the Majlis must be acceptable. This issue is the crux of the problem. I must add that considering the government revenues--a major part of which is influenced by oil revenues--and the ups and downs, we must reduce our reliance on these revenues. It seems that we must increase our tax revenues in order to deal with this issue that is on the shoulders of the Islamic government and provide the necessary services to the oppressed strata.

[Question] In our international relations--in the United Nations, for instance--why does the government not use women to make propaganda about women's rights?

[Answer] After the events that occurred in Zimbabwe and they tried to inculcate in the press the notion that no importance is placed on women in our country, in the Cabinet, we were with the president when this issue was raised and a good example was mentioned, which I will repeat here. It was stated that in foreign visits, revolutionary women and delegations must certainly be present to show the stature and the vision and awareness of Islamic women.

[Question] Considering that the officials are not mentally prepared in this area, not to mention the people and the women, and the fact that there is no special place where women's issues can be discussed, and since our revolutionary country faces many problems, in your opinion, will the failure to solve women's problems not create numerous problems for our society in the long term?

[Answer] Yes, if we do not bring these issues up, if we do not advise each other of what is right, this can become a crucial problem in our society. For this reason, I believe that we should not keep silent in this regard; we must constantly talk about it. Fortunately, the necessary sensitivity exists in this area, especially among our beloved clerics, who can show the way. I see the speaker of the Majlis, who confronts this issue with a special kind of sensitivity. This attitude of his is not rare among the clerics and in the

Majlis. We must also try to spread this idea and our reminders in the executive organizations and the media as well, to prevent the situation that you mentioned from being created in the society, and there is no reason why it should.

In connection with women, we have always had progress. In our opinion, we have never regressed in this area. The role of women today in our society has been established, and the respect for women, due to the fact that we are in an environment saturated with lofty values, has increased tremendously, because we have distanced ourselves from the tyrannical period. We must not feel that the importance that women have acquired in our society today, having been placed in the service of Islam and the revolution, is insufficient in terms of what has been gained. Mentions, suggestions, speeches, talks, writings, books, and the creation of an appropriate literature can be very effective in regards to this issue. We do not only have domestic problems in this area, we also have foreign problems.

Islamic countries, Islamic nations, even non-Muslim nations, are sensitive to our revolution. They have questions regarding the issues of women in our country. They ask us for solutions. At the present, we do not concern ourselves with the opponents and their accusations. Today, everyone admits the value of women in our revolutionary society, except for those who do not want to see the truth. In our society, women have a lofty rank; nevertheless, in today's society and in the world today, women have numerous problems, for which the Islamic regime can offer answers. These answers can be offered. The issue itself is discussed in the society and not forgotten. I emphasize the role of the press in creating the grounds in the society and even imposing pressure, that is, to provide support.

In conclusion, the prime minister referred to the ideas of the imam regarding women and added: I believe that we do not consider women as beings that deal only with pots and pans, kitchen and home, separate in practice from social issues. This is what I believe personally. In other words, I consider women as being very sensitive to issues involving their social environment, trying to increase their awareness and getting involved in the issues facing them and their environment. This does not mean that they should not attend to their homes and children and that we would not value the importance that Islam has placed on the family and the rearing of children. No, such a vital importance, in my opinion, does not contradict the overall participation of women in social and cultural affairs. I remember once that I heard a speech of the imam's concerning the necessity of participating in the universities and industrial management. I remember something like that. I believe that since the revolution, the grounds have been prepared which are natural. We must expand these natural grounds and constantly provide reminders that if women return to the kitchen, the revolution will fail. This is my personal belief. It is exactly like men enveloping themselves in their daily preoccupations and no longer dealing with social issues. These two problems go hand in hand. It is the presence of both women and men in the society that makes the revolution lasting and fruitful. I believe, and I especially suggest to my brothers, that their views should be that sisters must not give up the privileges that Islam has given them, that they demand these privileges, which involve participation in the political, social and cultural destiny of the society.

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WOMEN TO RECEIVE TRAINING FOR MILITARY DUTIES

London MEED/THE MIDDLE EAST'S BUSINESS WEEKLY in English 8 Mar 86 p 17

[Article by Vahe Petrossian: "Wanted: Fighting Women for Islam"]

[Text] IMAM KHOMEINI has officially cleared the way for greater participation of Iranian women in public life – including military service. Speaking to a female audience on women's day – 2 March – Khomeini said Iranian women had been in the vanguard of political movements earlier this century and in the 1979 revolution; they should now "actively participate in educational and scientific activities. . .in the same manner as men."

Many women have received military training since the revolution, but opposition from traditionalists and conservative clergy has left their status unclear. Khomeini's go-ahead means more women will undergo military training, although the indication is that they are unlikely to be sent to the war front itself unless there is a direct threat to "Islam and Islamic territory."

The Islamic republic's constitution bars women from becoming judges, but all other positions, including the presidency, are open to them. In practice, there are just four women in the 270-seat majlis (parliament). In a magazine interview on women's day, Prime Minister Hossain Moussavi said women had so far not tried to gain much political power. He added that he was open to having women ministers in his cabinet, but no women had so far been proposed.

Majlis Speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani, a supporter of women's rights, said after Khomeini's speech that when legislation on military conscription was approved two years ago, some deputies had opposed a role for women. "But now the Imam has spoken firmly about the responsibility of women. . . and other jurisprudents accept this view." It is against the national interest to deny women military training, he added.

More significantly, Rafsanjani predicted a radical change in the role of women once the Gulf war ends. "The economy will improve and expand after the war. You will see that we'll be short on labour. . . .Then the need for women will be felt." At present, women make up 15 per cent of Iran's 11 million workforce, according to the official Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA).

According to Rafsanjani, women "can participate in all social, administrative and productive activities. . . .But of course they must look after the welfare of their families too." In 1985, the majlis passed legislation allowing women employed by the government to work part-time in order to devote more time to managing their homes.

Rafsanjani added that in the West the presence of women in social activities is done in such a way that it amounts to corruption, whereas "in the Islamic republic we shall give women all the social responsibilities that the so-called progressive world has, but without the corruption."

Rafsanjani's reference to the West and corruption is aimed at mollifying conservative critics who fear that greater social and political involvement by women is bound to cause a deterioration of traditional family life and may lead to greater sexual freedom. When referring to military training, Khomeini himself specified that this should "of course. . .be done in a sound and Islamic atmosphere." The phrase is thought to refer to observance of Islamic dress codes and the separation of the sexes during training.

Women have become a greater political force in Iran since the revolution, but the strong traditionalist sentiment that prevails in the country means the green light given by Khomeini and the others may not produce short-term results. The Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps announced after Khomeini's speech that it was ready to provide basic military training for "interested girls and women." But significant overall changes in the position of women appear likely only under economic duress.

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PROCEDURES OF HAGUE TRIBUNAL ELABORATED

London MEED/THE MIDDLE EAST'S BUSINESS WEEKLY in English 8 Mar 86 pp 6, 7

[Article by Iain Jenkins: "Iran: Paying Off the Shah's Creditors"]

[Text] A QUIET suburb of The Hague is the unlikely setting for the final act of the US hostage crisis. Outside the building housing the Iran-US Claims Tribunal in Parkweg, the only tell-tale signs are the closed-circuit television cameras, automatic security gates and bomb detectors. Inside, lawyers painstakingly determine the fate of more than $20,000 million worth of claims relating to US contracts in pre-revolutionary Iran.

The tribunal, which opened in May 1981, has ordered Iran to pay more than $535 million to various US companies; in turn, Iran has received payments of $20 million from US firms and the Washington government. Progress has not been smooth: meetings were suspended for more than 12 months after September 1984, when two Iranian representatives assaulted a Swedish judge. They resumed after the Iranians were withdrawn to Tehran and the judge resigned from the tribunal.

The framework for the tribunal was established in January 1981, as part of the Algiers agreement which led to the freeing of 52 US hostages held in Iran. The Algiers accord called for all commercial disputes between the two countries – which range from massive military and oil claims to a $15,000 payment for overdue library books – to be settled by a tribunal comprising lawyers from the US, Iran and third countries. Iran agreed to pay $1,000 million into an escrow account as security for the claims.

The tribunal's workings have exceeded most lawyers' expectations, despite the lengthy suspension. A recent spate of awards reflects a marked improvement in the working atmosphere at the tribunal. In January, Chevron Oil Corporation agreed to accept $115 million, and Santa Fe International Corporation settled for $19 million.

These claims are small in comparison with those surrounding the oil concessions expropriated by Iran after the revolution. Amoco is understood to be demanding $1,000 million-plus, and claims filed by Phillips Petroleum Company and Atlantic Richfield Company (Arco), among others, are believed to be of a similar size.

The largest single claim has come from Iran, which is demanding $11,600 million from the US government. The suit relates to 2,600 military government-to-government contracts – originally valued at more than $22,000 million – dating back to the mid-1960s. Iran alleges that the US failed to deliver equipment, withheld spare parts and has frozen up-front payments.

These larger cases are a long way from being settled. Says one US lawyer: "The Iranians have not shown that they seriously want to tackle the oil expropriation claims. The claims that have gone through are either with companies that Iran wants to continue doing business with, or feels that it can make large counter-claims against." He cites as an example the Chevron settlement, in which the company was the net loser; in a deal agreed outside the tribunal, it agreed to pay around $175 million to Iran for unpaid oil supplies

(MEED 18:1:86).

Iran says it is willing to settle the larger claims, ascribing the tribunal's slow progress to its huge workload. "In most cases the Iranian government is the respondent, which puts an enormous burden on us, given our limited resources," say Parviz Ansari, one of the three Iranian arbitrators. He adds: "On the other hand, each US company has its own private lawyer."

In fact, the US government keeps two lawyers in The Hague; US companies fly in lawyers as their hearings arise. Iran maintains a battery of 20 lawyers, augmented as necessary by UK, Belgian and French advisers.

Unsympathetic

Ansari argues that the US is unsympathetic to his government's problems, pointing out that Iranian requests for extra time are often turned down by the other two arbitrators. As a result, justice has been sacrificed in the interests of speed – and the tribunal is already resolving cases at a quicker rate than other international organisations, or the US courts, Ansari says.

US lawyers grumble about the pace at which the tribunal works, but admit they are surprised that it works at all. They say it is unique in that it represents the first international arbitration between two countries that do not have diplomatic links. John Westberg, a lawyer with Washington-based Wald, Harkrader & Ross who practised in Iran for 16 years, says: "It has become the most significant international arbitration in modern history. It is important in setting a standard for resolving disputes between industrial nations and Third World countries."

But the tribunal's hearings could be halted again by the politically sensitive issue of claims by "dual nationals" – people holding Iranian and US citizenship. Prime Minister Hossain Moussavi has made clear that Iran does not recognise the legitimacy of these claims. And his officials have hinted that Iran will boycott the tribunal if the US presses ahead with them.

"These people (the dual nationals) made a fortune in Iran as a result of their Iranian nationality. Now they want to take it out of Iran through their US nationality," says Hamid Bahrami, an Iranian arbitrator. "The Iranian government considers that these people are its own nationals and that it can't be a party against its own nationals before an international court. They have the right as Iranian citizens to put their cases before an Iranian court," he adds.

"As long as the court continues fairly, there will be no problems," Bahrami says. "But it would be difficult for the tribunal to go ahead in the tense atmosphere which would arise if the dual national claims were to be put forward."

The US has been surprised by the intensity of the Iranian reaction, saying that an early ruling by the tribunal allows them to proceed with the dual national claims, providing the individual acquired US citizenship before the 1979 revolution. Some US officials privately suggest that Iran's intransigence may be prompted by the large size of three of the claims, of which one is being made by the Sabet family, once one of Iran's richest families.

The dual nationality issue is only one of several Iranian grievances. Others include the method of appointment of the third party arbitrators; the language spoken in the tribunal – mainly English, and an earlier tribunal ruling which blocked Iranian claims against US companies, except in the form of counter-claims.

David Stewart, who co-ordinates US policies towards the tribunal in Washington, says: "Although Iran cannot claim against US companies in The Hague, it is entitled to file lawsuits in the US courts – which it is doing against Ashland Oil."

In turn, US officials have several grievances against Iran, which they accuse of time wasting. They are also disturbed by Iran's insistence that each of the 2,000-plus claims worth less than $250,000 will have to be settled individually. George Aldrich, one of the US arbitrators who has been with the tribunal since its inception, says: "If we have to adjudicate every case it could take us as long as 10 years. At best, the tribunal could have finished its work within three years – if Iran settles the small claims together."

The atmosphere in the tribunal is cordial. "We have a good working relationship," says one Iranian. "But there is still no social contact between the two sides after almost five years." An American lawyer adds: "When the tribunal started, each hearing began

with a 30-minute harangue against American imperialism. Today, politics is kept in the background and the calibre of the Iranian presentations is very high."

The dress styles of Iranian and US arbitrators are very different. In sharp contrast to the suit-wearing, shoe-shined Americans, the Iranians wear casual jackets and are never seen in ties, which they regard as symbols of western culture.

Inside the Hague Tribunal

THE registry at the Iran-US Claims Tribunal in The Hague is packed with rows of dossiers on the various claims. Each of the documents has been meticulously translated into Farsi and English, copied, and carefully filed on the shelves. The office is only part of the administration needed to support the arbitration process.

Total administrative costs, including the salaries of the tribunal's 75 permanent members of staff – secretaries, interpreters, and legal assistants – come to $4 million a year. The cost is split evenly between Iran and the US; the latter recoups some of its outlay by charging successful US claimants 1.5 per cent of any award or settlement worth up to $5 million, and 1 per cent of anything above.

On top of the $2 million a year Iran has to pay for the running of the tribunal, it also maintains 20 lawyers at its embassy in The Hague. In contrast, the US government has only two lawyers at its embassy: US companies appearing before the tribunal pay for their own legal advisers.

The tribunal's workload is split between three chambers, each of which has an Iranian, US and third country arbitrator. The Iranian arbitrators are Hamid Bahrami, Parviz Ansari and Mohsen Mostafavi. Their US counterparts are George Aldrich and Howard Holtzmann – both of whom have been with the tribunal since it opened – and Charles Brower. The third country representatives are Karl Bockstiegel of West Germany, Robert Briner of Switzerland and Michel Virally of France.

Cases coming before the tribunal must have been filed within a three-month period ending 19 January 1982. Proceedings start with a presentation to the arbitrators of written statements of the claim and the defence. A pre-hearing conference then determines the documents needed for the case and fixes dates for the hearing. At the hearing itself, both parties plead, and witnesses are called.

After the hearing, the complex process of deliberation bugins: an award depends on a majority decision by the arbitrators. In practice, this means the third country arbitrator must agree with either the US or Iranian position, or persuade one party to modify its stance. But the Iranian and US arbitrators often agree to settle claims before they reach the award stage.

If an award or settlement is reached against Iran, the sum involved is deducted automatically from an Iranian escrow account in Amsterdam. The fund started with $1,000 million and must be kept above $500 million. The latest Chevron Corporation settlement pushed the fund below the minimum; Iran is now in the process of replenishing it by adding $100 million (MEED 22.2.86).

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WEEKLY REPORTS ON PETROCHEMICAL, PIPELINE PROJECTS, OIL SALE

London MEED/THE MIDDLE EAST'S BUSINESS WEEKLY in English 8 Mar 86 pp 16-18

[Text]

Six bid for Isfahan LAB project

Six international companies are bidding for a contract to design and engineer a $ 70 million-100 million petrochemicals complex at Isfahan. The linear alkyl benzine (LAB) plant will have capacity to produce up to 50,000 tons a year. LAB is used to make detergents.

The bidders include four Italian companies – ***Foster Wheeler Italiana, Technipetrol, Eurotecnica Engineering & Constructions*** and ***Snamprogetti*** – West Germany's ***Uhde*** and Japan's ***JGC Corporation***. The UK's ***Lummus Crest*** was invited to bid, but decided not to submit an offer.

Bids were submitted in early February. The companies do not expect discussions with the client – the Industries Ministry – to begin before the start of the Iranian new year on 21 March.

The government is also pressing ahead with two other petrochemicals projects. The larger, at $ 1,500 million, is the Arak plastics and olefins plant. Technipetrol and ***Kinetics Technology International (KTI)*** of the Netherlands are doing engineering work; about 15 companies are expected to be shortlisted for the construction contract by April.

The other project is the 180,000-barrel a day (b/d) lube oil plant at Isfahan. Engineering has been done by a joint venture of Foster Wheeler Italiana and the local ***Chagalesh Engineering Company***. The scheme is expected to be put out to tender in early 1987.

Pipeline deadline extended

The *National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC)* has told international pipeline construction and supply firms they will have to wait up to three months for a decision about whether a $ 1,500 million pipeline scheme will go ahead. Iran communicated its intentions in late February and early March to banks holding the bid bonds placed by four European, South Korean and Japanese groups bidding for the scheme.

The bid bonds were put up by the firms in early December for 90 days, ending 5 March. The deadline has now been extended to early June.

The companies involved are South Korea's ***Daewoo Corporation*** and Japan's ***JGC Corporation*** – the low bidders; South Korea's ***Ssangyong Construction Company***, with the UK affiliate of the US' ***Bechtel Corporation*** acting as possible subcontractor; South Korea's ***Daelim Industrial Company***, with the UK affiliate of the US' ***Stone & Webster*** acting as subcontractor; ***Saipem*** and ***Snamprogetti***, both of Italy, and West Germany's ***Philipp Holzmann*** (MEED 1.2.86).

Daewoo's low bid of $ 1,500 million includes the $ 200 million cost of pipeline supplies; Saipem's high bid of $ 1,940 million does not include this element.

The scheme, known as Moharram, is to run from the Gurreh pumping station, on the mainland north of the main oil exporting terminal of Kharg island, to either Asaluyeh or Taheri, near Kangan. The 380-kilometre twin pipeline, with a capacity of 1.5 million barrels a day (b/d), is designed to provide an alternative export route safe from Iraqi air attacks.

NIOC opened the bids on the priority scheme in early December, but has failed to start discussions with any of the bidders. This has led to widespread

speculation that the scheme has been cancelled (MEED 1.3.86). Some of the companies involved think the project will be shelved, but at least one firm is confident it will eventually be approved.

One expert said it was possible Iran wanted to wait for the international oil market to improve. Developments in the Gulf war may also have reduced the need for alternatives to Kharg island, although Iraqi aircraft have resumed successful attacks on shipping near the island (see below).

Iran is working on at least two other oil export schemes. One involves single-buoy moorings, between Kharg and the mainland, being set up by Singapore's ***Ipcomarine***. Work is believed to be nearly complete; reports from Tehran that it may be delayed by Iraqi air raids in the region cannot be confirmed. Another scheme involves converting the IGAT-2 natural gas trunkline to carry crude from the Gachsaran fields to Tahiri. Saipem and Daelim signed contracts for this in December 1985; observers say some of the equipment has been delivered and work has started (MEED 14.12.85).

Officials are also discussing reviving an old scheme for two pipelines to carry oil from the southern fields to a terminal 1,000 kilometres away in the Arabian Sea, outside the Gulf.

Four shuttle tankers hit

Four oil tankers running a shuttle service between the oil export terminals at Kharg and Sirri islands were damaged in Iraqi air raids in the last week of February. The attacks were followed by three retaliatory raids by Iran against tankers calling at Arab ports. The attacks on shipping by both sides are the most intense since the start of the Gulf war.

Most of the Iranian tankers were only slightly damaged, but the Iraqi successes are bound to have affected the shuttle service. Between six and 18 vessels are believed to be used to carry oil to Sirri, which has storage capacity for several weeks' supply.

The damaged tankers have all been chartered; they include the 239,064 dwt Polikon, which is registered in Cyprus, and three vessels flying the Liberian flag – the 343,423 dwt Medusa, the 268,728 dwt Castor and the 231,490 dwt Energy Courage.

Iranian aircraft attacked the 142,806 dwt Atlas 1 (Turkey), the 34,982 dwt products carrier Bow Fighter (Norway) and the 131,654 dwt Chaumont (France). These raids took place off the Qatar coast.

Sixteen vessels have been hit in attacks by both sides since 1 January; they include five used on the shuttle service. Iran is replacing the damaged vessels, but the cost in charter rates and insurance premiums is high – charter costs alone could be as great as $ 13 million a month.

Iran in late February claimed to have captured a key intelligence post on Iraq's Fao peninsula, said to have been used to direct Iraqi air raids (MEED 1.3.86). For 10 days or so after the Iranian claim there were no confirmed Iraqi attacks on shipping, but they resumed on 23 February with renewed intensity. However, all attacks on vessels since 28 February have been attributed to Iran.

There is speculation that Iraq may have used helicopters and gunboats in the latest raids. A helicopter was used in at least one attack; Iran claimed to have shot it down near Kharg. In early March, the Iranian navy claimed to have sunk three Iraqi gunboats and damaged several others in the Khor al-Abdullah channel between the Fao peninsula and Bubiyan island.

France probes weapons shipments

France's Prime Minister Laurent Fabius has ordered an inquiry into suggestions that French cargo ships have delievered weapons to Iran. The move follows a French press report alleging that two vessels, carrying armaments bound for Brazil, Portugal and Thailand, had instead delivered them to Iran in late 1985 and early 1986.

France is the second-biggest weapons supplier to Iraq. If the shipments are shown to have taken place, the French government is certain to be embarrassed, particularly as there have been suggestions – officially denied – that Fabius knew about them. The Iraqi embassy in Paris has warned of a possible deterioration in relations.

The two cargo ships are said to be the Nicole and the Trautenbels. The former is reported to have offloaded 20,000 shells at an Iranian port in January.

The deliveries would have taken place at a time when relations between Iran and France were improving. However, in February they deteriorated again, following France's decision to expel four Iranians and extradite two Iraqi dissidents to Iraq (MEED 1.3.86). Iran retaliated later in the month by expelling four Frenchmen, including the Agence

France-Presse (AFP) correspondent. The Interior Ministry accused them of espionage. The three other men were involved in the construction of a power plant near Tabriz by ***Alsthom***.

France's expulsion of the Iranians and Iraqis has drawn strong criticism from the French press and the worldwide human rights organisation Amnesty International. Those expelled were among 64 students from the Middle East detained in connection with bomb attacks in Paris that injured 21 people.

IN BRIEF

- The ***Telecommunications Company of Iran*** is inviting international bids for a contract to supply 470 tons of copper-coated steel wire. Closing date is 24 May (see TENDERS).

- South Korea's ***Daewoo Corporation*** in 1985 completed delivery of six 40,000 dwt bulk carriers to ***Islamic Republic of Iran Shipping Lines***.

- The third of four units at Isfahan's 800 MW Shahid Montazeri power plant opened in early March. Soviet technicians abandoned the site in mid-1985, following Iraqi air raids on various Iranian cities. Discussions about their return were held recently (MEED 1.2.86).

- Prime Minister Hossain Moussavi on 1 March sent condolences to the Swedish government on the death of Prime Minister Olof Palme. The Swedish premier visited Tehran several times as part of UN efforts to bring about an end to the Gulf war.

- Economy & Finance Minister Mohammad Javad Iravani visited Yugoslavia in early March to attend the annual meeting of the joint commission.

- Deputy oil minister Hossain Kazempour-Ardebili visited Malaysia and Indonesia in early March to ask the two countries to reduce their oil output in an effort to prop up falling prices. Deputy foreign affairs minister Hossain Sheikholeslam took a similar message to Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar and Saudi Arabia in late February.

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BUDGET INCREASE, GAS TALKS, TIES WITH OTHER STATES REPORTED

London MEED/THE MIDDLE EAST'S BUSINESS WEEKLY in English 15 Mar 86 pp 18, 21, 22

[Text] **Majlis votes for a budget increase**

The majlis (parliament) on 11 March approved the proposed budget for the Iranian year starting 21 March, upsetting all predictions by increasing expenditure rather than cutting it. The vote was by a two-thirds majority; details will be released after the budget has been approved by the 12-member Council of Constitutional Guardians, which has power to veto all legislation.

In proposing the budget on 1 December 1985, Prime Minister Hossain Moussavi projected expenditure at IR 4.0 million million ($50,600 million); revenue was estimated at IR 3.6 million million ($44,700 million), of which oil income accounts for IR 1.6 million million ($20,000 million – MEED 7.12.85). The majlis increased expenditure by IR 200,000 million ($2,500 million). Projected oil revenue has dropped to IR 1.5 million million ($18,600 million), but estimated income from other sources, such as taxation, has risen.

Of the increased expenditure, IR 26,000 million ($324.7 million) goes to defence, IR 17,000 million ($212 million) towards expanding the steel sector and IR 4,200 million ($52 million) to the nuclear industry. Development and current spending go up by unspecified amounts.

The increases raise estimated expenditure to just above the IR 4.1 million million ($51,700 million) projected budget for the current year. They were approved despite warnings in the majlis and sections of the press that the extra spending would fuel inflation (MEED 22.2.86). The government's oil revenue projection was also described as unrealistic. About 500 amendments were proposed during the majlis debate; 100 were adopted.

This is the first time in five years that Moussavi has not had his budget cut in the majlis. This may reflect his more aggressive approach in the past six months, and – perhaps – the successes scored on the war front.

Gas talks to resume

Senior officials are to meet their Soviet counterparts in April to discuss resuming Iranian gas exports and other joint economic schemes. The topics were agreed during February talks in Tehran with the Soviet Union's first deputy foreign affairs minister Georgy Kornienko (MEED 8.2.86).

The forthcoming talks will take place in Tehran between Konstantin Katuchev, head of the state committee for foreign economic relations, and Economy & Finance Minister Mohammad Javad Iravani. Soviet officials in Tehran say one of their main concerns is to resume gas exports, which stopped in early 1980 because of a price dispute.

It is not clear whether the 16-year-old IGAT-1 gas line will be able to cope with its former daily average throughput of 28 million cubic metres. A second pipeline scheme – IGAT-2 – to the Soviet Union was halted after the 1979 revolution, the first section from the south to Isfahan was completed recently.

IGAT-1 uses associated gas from the southern oil fields. Since the revolution, gas output has dropped, in line with the decline in oil production. IGAT-2 is fed by gas fields near Kangan, on the Gulf.

The talks will also cover the return of Soviet engineers – withdrawn in early 1985 because of Iraqi air raids on cities – to two power plant sites in Isfahan and Ahwaz, and to the Isfahan steel mill. In the absence of Soviet specialists,

Iranian technicians recently commissioned Isfahan power station's third unit (MEED 8.3.86).

Other topics will include two proposed hydroelectric and irrigation dams in the western part of the joint border, the possible resumption of *Aeroflot* flights from Moscow to Tehran, and supplies of caviare and fish from Iran's area of the Caspian Sea.

US cracks down on pistachios

About $40 million worth of pistachio exports to the US are threatened as a result of restrictions imposed by the US Commerce Department. Pistachios are Iran's biggest non-oil export item after carpets and caviare.

The Commerce Department accuses Tehran of subsidising pistachio exports to the US by the equivalent of 99.52 per cent of the value. A countervailing duty of that amount will be assessed on imports of unshelled pistachios.

The department is also investigating whether Iranian exporters are dumping pistachios on the US market by selling them at prices below those in Iran. It has provisionally decided on a dumping margin of 135.68 per cent; importers are now required to post bonds equal to this amount, pending a final resolution of the dumping probe.

The US clampdown follows months of protests from American pistachio growers, who have been losing markets to the Iranians (MEED 23.11.85). US exports to Iran fell by more than 50 per cent, to $74 million, between 1984 and 1985. Imports rose by 4 per cent, to $763 million (MEED 22.2.86, page 33, 15.2.86).

French weapons firm prosecuted

French export company *Luchaire* is to be prosecuted on charges of illegally shipping weapons to Iran, the Defence Ministry in Paris says. The 5 March announcement follows an investigation into French newspaper reports that the company delivered thousands of tons of artillery shells and ammunition to Iran in December 1985 and January 1986 (MEED 8.3.86).

The reports have embarrassed the French government, one of Iraq's main armaments suppliers in the Gulf war. It has reiterated its policy of not supplying weapons to Iran.

All French weapons shipments have to be cleared by an inter-ministerial body headed by the Prime Minister's Office. The Defence Ministry says Luchaire had been under investigation for several months on suspicion of illegal weapons deals; from mid-1985, it was refused new licences for armaments sales. However, it is reported to have used licences issued in 1984 to send the weapons to Iran aboard two vessels ostensibly bound for Brazil, Portugal and Thailand.

In Buffalo, New York, a federal court jury has found an Austrian national, Heinz Golitschek, guilty of trying to buy $61 million worth of Huey Cobra helicopter gunships for Iran. He faces up to five years in prison.

IN BRIEF

- Japanese companies with a share in the $4,000 million Bandar Khomeini petrochemicals complex are sending a team to Tehran in late March. The Japanese want to know whether Iran intends to resume interest payments on a loan or has decided to cancel the scheme (MEED 22.2.86).

- More than 40 foreign construction specialists are attending a 10-day conference in Tehran on ways of restoring and rebuilding war-damaged areas. According to one, Iran wants to use local methods for the reconstruction of brick-built villages, but quick, modern methods for cities. Between 2,000-4,000 towns and villages have been damaged in the Gulf war; 2.5 million people were displaced in the first three months alone. Structural damage is estimated at about $100,000 million.

- Yugoslavia is to import 1.5 million tonnes of Iranian crude oil annually – or about 30,000 barrels a day – Economy & Finance Minister Mohammad Javad Iravani says. He was speaking after a joint economic commission meeting in Belgrade in early March, at which Yugoslavia also agreed to import goods equal to 20 per cent of exports to Iran. An Iranian team is to visit Yugoslavia to investigate the market.

- Romania's Foreign Affairs Minister Ilie Vaduva visited for three days in the second week of March to discuss bilateral and regional issues. His Iranian counterpart, Ali Akbar Velayati, went to Romania in 1984. Romania is East Europe's biggest exporter to Iran: bilateral trade is put at $550 million a year.

- An Iranian team is visiting Brazilian companies and government agencies to draw up a shopping list for a new countertrade agreement. According to the present agreement – which runs out soon – Brazil exports $400 million worth of goods to Iran a year, in exchange for crude oil totalling $450 million. The new deal will entail a bigger volume of manufactured products, such as medical and dental equipment, and household appliances, Brazilian officials say. The team visited the Agriculture Ministry, state-owned *Acominas*, capital goods manufacturer *Villares*, and a

subsidiary of West Germany's *Fried Krupp*, in which Iran has a share.

o The Oil Ministry has offered to provide Third World countries with a recently developed technique for building jetties and oil platforms. The system allows quick and easy installation of jetties in difficult coastal areas, according to Musa Khayyer, the ministry's projects manager. Khayyer made the offer during an inspection tour of Bandar Abbas, where several of the jetties are due for completion by 21 March.

o A $6,500 million budget for the Iranian year starting 21 March has been requested by the Mostazafin (deprived) Foundation, which controls hundreds of nationalised industries. The proposed allocation has been discussed at a meeting with Prime Minister Hossain Moussavi, Imam Khomeini's representative to the foundation. This year's budget was fixed at $5,800 million.

o The government has invested $3,000 million in economic and social schemes in the south-eastern province of Sistan-Baluchistan since the 1979 revolution, according to the province's governor-general, M Ashja. The figure compares with just $81 million from 1974-79, he added. Sistan-Baluchistan is Iran's most sparsely populated province, with about 500,000 people, much of it is desert.

o The British Overseas Trade Board plans to organise a UK pavilion at the 1986 Tehran international trade fair in September, if there is sufficient interest from UK industry. About 30 British firms were represented at the 1985 fair. The deadline for applications is 20 March.

o Technicians from *Kuwait Airways Corporation* have been granted entry visas to enable them to repair an Airbus hijacked to Tehran in December 1984 (see KUWAIT).

o The majlis (parliament) has approved a government request for an additional IR 23,000 million ($288 million) allocation for the Education Ministry. The item is one of several approved by the majlis, which is considering the budget for the Iranian year starting 21 March. In another vote, the majlis turned down a proposal to increase its own budget from IR 1,600 million ($20 million) to IR 2,100 million ($26 million).

o There are 21,700 co-operative companies with 9 million members, Commerce Minister Hassan Abedi Jaafari says. The establishment of co-operatives is one of the main economic requirements of the republic's constitution.

o Senior West German parliamentarian Hans Stercken made a three-day visit in early March in preparation for the April meeting in Mexico of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). The meeting is expected to discuss the Gulf war. Stercken – president of the IPU's council – is the most senior West German official to visit since Foreign Affairs Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in 1984.

o Several members of Islamic revolution committees have completed pilot and maintenance training courses on helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft. This is the first report of such training for committee members, who carry out police duties with the regular police and the rural gendarmerie.

o Imam Khomeini has divided 22 inherited plots of building land in his native town of Khomein among the local poor and invalids, as well as families of those killed in the Gulf war and the 1979 revolution, the local daily Resalat says. The plots are each of 200 square metres. Khomein is 260 kilometres southwest of Tehran.

o Four guerrillas of the Paris based leftist Islamic Mojaheddin-e Khalq organisation were executed in late February and early March, according to the local press. They were convicted of spying for Iraq and killing Islamic militants. Very few executions have been announced in recent years, the latest follow a spate of guerrilla activity, including the 1 March murders of a dental paramedic and his brother. A man and a woman have been arrested in connection with the killings.

o Four habitual thieves in Shiraz have each had four fingers cut off their right hands, the local press reports. The last such case was reported two months ago, again in Shiraz. That thief had 51 convictions for stealing.

o British police are investigating whether an Iranian student who brought his 12-year-old bride to the UK is violating laws forbidding sexual intercourse with a minor. According to Muslim law, the marriage is legal, although the usual minimum age is 14-15.

o China's ambassador is Wang Benzuo. He replaces Fan Zuokai.

o A student protest march about Kuwait's and Saudi Arabia's Gulf war policies was diverted from the two countries' Tehran embassies on 11 March. Instead, marchers gathered at the former US embassy, where militant majlis (parliament) deputy Hadi Ghafari said: "I tell the Saudi and Kuwaiti governments they should get along with us. We get along with people who get along with us." The planned demonstration had alarmed the Kuwaiti and Saudi governments, which demanded protection for their embassies.

o The mother of a soldier killed in the war has pleged to pay $25 to war organisations for each Iraqi aircraft downed by Iranian forces, according to the official Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA). In early March, she sent $1,700, as well as gold, to majlis (parliament) Speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani for the 68 Iraqi aircraft Iran claims to have shot down since the 9 February start of the latest offensive. IRNA concludes its report by announcing the destruction of two more Iraqi aircraft, bringing the total to 70.

BENAZIR SPEAKS TO HUGE CROWD IN GUJRANWALA

BK130948 Hong Kong AFP in English 0935 GMT 13 Apr 86

[Text] Gujrenwala, 13 Apr (AFP)--Opposition leader Benazir Bhutto on Sunday repeated her call for elections at a mass rally here, after a triumphant 65 km (40 mile) journey which took a marathon 13 hours.

Miss Bhutto, the 32-year-old daughter of hanged ex-prime minister Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto, should have addressed the crowd on Saturday afternoon. But in the event she did not make her speech until 3:30 a.m., after hundreds of thousands of supporters along the route reduced her convoy to walking pace most of the way from Lahore.

She had also been greeted by a colossal crowd at Lahore on Thursday, when she returned to Pakistan from a two-year self-imposed exile in Britain to challenge President Ziaul Haq, at the head of her Pakistan People's Party (PPP).

Urging him here to organize immediate elections open to all parties, she accused the martial law regime he installed in 1977, after the military coup which overthrew her father, of selling off Pakistan's national interests.

She charged it with wrecking a contract for French construction of a nuclear power plant "for peaceful purposes," signed by her father.

Gujrenwala in April 1979 staged one of the rare demonstrations in Pakistan against the execution of the former prime minister.

In a first reaction to Miss Bhutto's call for political change, President Zia and Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo on Saturday again ruled out new elections ahead of schedule, advising parties to show patience until 1990.

General Zia, who lifted martial law in December, said in Quetta he was satisfied people had "faith now that they can say what they want," but added that freedom of expression "should not transcend the borders of sanity."

Miss Bhutto was to have made her speech in this northern Punjab city with small industries and some one million people on Saturday afternoon.

But her convoy was overwhelmed beyond Lahore by crowds which had converged on the road from the remote countryside, and was soon crawling through villages bedecked with the red, green and black PPP colours.

It had to ease its way past groups of celebrating PPP supporters, and trucks and cars to which whole clusters of people clung.

Those not on foot had arrived clinging to tractors and ploughs pulled by horses or buffaloes. The crowds included many teenagers and also unveiled women as often seen in the Pakistani countryside.

In the many built-up areas Miss Bhutto had to make impromptu speeches. Perched at the front of a brighly coloured truck she saluted her supporters like her father, hands raised above her head making a "V" for victory sign.

Tens of thousands meanwhile waited in Gujrenwala, in festive mood as night fell, chanting slogans against Gen Zia and listening to a poet declaim a poem quoted by Miss Bhutto in Lahore, "I am a rebel."

/9274
CSO: 4600/277

LEGALIZING OF ARMS MANUFACTURING IN NWFP SUGGESTED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 3 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] Legalized though it is not, the arms making industry in the Darra area of the NWFP has been working for a long time and providing employment and subsistence to thousands of people of the otherwise very backward and poverty-ridden region. In an interview with our correspondent who visited Darra recently, the Assistant Political Agent suggested that the industry be regularised, which would provide 'miraculous boost' to the economic life of the people. And, in view of the demand for the industry's products, this does not seem to be an exaggeration. According to an estimate there are as many as 3000 arms making units in the area inhabited by 1.25 lakhs of people out of whom 50 per cent earn their livelihood directly or indirectly from this industry. These units are said to be producing 400 to 500 weapons per day. As it is basically a cottage industry, there is no automation or use of modern machines. Those are engaged in the industry are actually artisans doing the job for generations. The experience and expertise they have acquired over the years is manifest in the fact that some of these units are said to be also successfully manufacturing the famous Soviet sophisticated gun, Kalashinkov. As a result, the prices of these guns which were said to be selling illegally at Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 45,000 a piece, are reported to have come down to Rs. 19,000, i.e., less than half the original price!

Since the entire industry is supposed to be illegal its sales remain unrecorded. Unlicensed guns, pistols, other types of arms and ammunitions used in many of the crimes, might have come from those very sources. As a matter of fact, the region at present serves as an ordnance depot for the criminals in the country. We allow that some of it might have been smuggled into the country, but a major part of the crimi-

nals' arms and ammunition must be locally made. It has also been proved during the last few years that the guns and ammunition which some criminals have been using in dacoities, murders and other crimes, are far superior to those possessed by our law enforcing agencies. The fact has been admitted by some heads of these agencies and they are now trying to arm the police and other para-military forces entrusted with the job of combating crimes, with better and more sophisticated weapons. It would definitely involve substantial investment.

The only defect in the arms being produced in Darra is that the raw materials used by the industry are of inferior quality; otherwise, the form and the initial performance of these weapons can compare with the genuine ones. This is but natural. The manufacturers have no access to better quality of alloys and other materials. Consequently, these weapons are not as durable as the imported ones.

All said and done, it is a considerably big industry of the tribal area of the Frontier Province. It is in the knowledge of the highest authorities in the state. It has been selling its products to anyone who has the means to purchase and take them out of the tribal area. At the moment it is only strengthening the hands of the anti-social elements. Viewed in this background, the proposal made by the APG deserves to be considered seriously. Regularisation of the industry would mean the regularisation of its entire operations. It will help in checking effectively the illegal proliferation of arms and ammunition in the country. Besides, with the availability of standard quality of raw materials to the industry, the standard of its products would also improve. Then its products can also be exported. As such, it can become a foreign exchange earner for the country. The matter needs to be taken up and decided promptly, considering the threat to law and order from the proliferation of illegal arms and ammunition.

/12851
CSO: 4600/283

PRIME MINISTER ANNOUNCES PROPRIETORY RIGHTS FOR SLUM DWELLERS

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 8 Apr 86 pp 1, 3

[Text] LAHORE, April 7: Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo granted proprietory rights to residents of Katchi Abadis, saying: "You are the owners of the houses you live in from this day — Monday April 7, 1986".

With it came the announcement of an allocation of Rs 50 crore for providing basic amenities to katchi abadis.

The Prime Minister told a massive public meeting at Mochi Gate today that till March 21, 1985, a Katchi Abadi had to consist of 100 houses but from today a settlement comprising 40 houses would come under the definition of Katchi Abadi.

He added land up to five marlas, at present used for commercial purposes, will henceforth be considered a residential area.

To convert these Katchi Abadis into separate modern colonies, Junejo said development charges for a period of three months will be paid by the government in lump sum with 50 per cent discount facilities at the time of repayment.

He also announced the final approval of seven marla scheme for the rural areas of Punjab. Comprehensive details of the scheme, he said, were being worked out and would be announced later.

SUI GAS

The Prime Minister also announced that the interior city of Lahore would get Sui gas connections which had been refused so far on one pretext or the other. Orders in this regard, he said, have been issued.

Junejo said it was a policy of his government not to hold out promises to the people which it could not fulfil. During the last one year there is not a single instance where the Party who had forced it (PPP) out of power in the name of Nizam-i-Mustafa".

He said their purpose could not be to serve the country or the people. They want to get back into power and to this end they have been crying hoarse for mid-term or fresh elections.

The present government, he said, had been voted into power by the people for a period of five years government had failed the people. "We promised to lift martial law in a stipulated period and it was lifted on time. We put an end to the 20-year-old state of emergency and restored to the people their fundamental rights".

Today, he added, all sections of the society are free. They have the freedom to hold public meetings, take out processions and establish contact with the masses to acquaint them with their political and economic programmes. "But what intrigues me most is the alliance of those elements with the People's and "we intend to complete our tenure not because we are power hungry but because of our commitment to the people to make Pakistan strong, united and prosperous. We are determined to bring the sort of solidarity to the country and a sense of security to the people that is enduring and that does not wear off with the change of governments".

The Prime Minister declared that in near future the government

would announce a Rs 7,000 crore programme for the construction of new roads, for providing electricity to more villages and to construct more basic health centres.

The huge crowd rejected the demand for mid-term elections from certain political quarters, and gave a green signal to Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo to complete his five-year term with full peace of mind.

The peoples' mandate came when the Prime Minister posed them a question whether they supported the mid-term polls or wanted the elected government to rule for another four years.

The audience in one voice said the present government should continue.

Earlier in a brief talk with the newsmen at the airport the Prime Minister said that there was full freedom for everyone to advocate his point of view in accordance with the norms of democracy and within the ambit of law.

Answering a question the Prime Minister said that presently the non-registered political parties were being allowed to hold public meetings and take out processions, but a comprehensive law would naturally come into being to regulate these activities as the things moved forward.

Earlier Chief Minister Nawaz Sharif said this was the time to learn from our past and to vow to avoid repetition of yesterday's mistakes in pursuit of selfish interests and to solemnly undertake to establish a rule of law under which every citizen is treated at par.

The government, he added, was determined to establish an era of peace, honour and fairplay. It has taken unto itself to purge the society from all evil-political, economic or social.

/12851
CSO: 4600/283

FOREIGN AID TERMED A 'MISNOMER' FOR LOANS

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 8 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] Ever since the early 1950s, this nation is being made to believe that the economic development of Pakistan is not possible without foreign aid. This myth has now taken roots. We have been going abroad and borrowing money from wherever we can and calling it aid, while paying interest not only through our nose but also through begging for more loans from the so-called friendly countries. Today our foreign debts stand anywhere between 15 to 18 billion U.S. dollars and we will shortly be going to Paris to ask for more. The question arises as to how one defines aid. Could one call the people doling aid money at interest rates too high for a loanee to pay, as loan-giving friends or would they be termed as loan sharks?

We have raised this question because for any country's development it is imperative that it achieve an economic surplus. And, only such steps by friendly nations as help a developing country to achieve that end, can be called aid. Indefinite loanings and continuous borrowings at burdensome interest rates can only lead to further impoverishment and restrict economic and political sovereignty. It is particularly so with Pakistan which is mainly an agricultural country and largely depends on the exports of its agricultural commodities. This country has been encouraged more and more to produce larger quantities of its agricultural commodities for exports to be able to pay its loan instalments and interest thereon. Now, who controls the world market for the commodities we export? Are they not mainly the same countries who give us loans in the name of aid in open or in camouflaged forms? In our anxiety to live up to our commitments, we lose sight of what the ever-increasing use of synthetic fertilizers and more and more water

is doing to our agricultural land and what is going to be the effect of it in the long run. Are we not already borrowing more to deal with our water-logging problem?

It is time we faced facts. We have been caught in a situation which just cannot lead us to an economic surplus or even self-sufficiency. Nor are we in a position to put a moratorium on debt repayment or interest thereon. In these circumstances, is it wise of us to go on borrowing more in the name of aid, praise like sychophants the loan givers in speeches and statements over the radio and in the Press for their generosity and seek to justify our actions to our people? Is it not a fact that these very generous friends export much more to Pakistan than they import from this country? Are these very loans not used to buy goods and services from them as also from our own resources? We are now going to Paris to ask for a loan (sorry, aid) of 2.6 billion dollars. This 9-country Consortium, both individually and collectively, exports much more to Pakistan than they buy from us. The exports from the Consortium as a whole to Pakistan amount to something like Rs. 36 billion, while it buys from Pakistan commodities worth about Rs. 13 billion. This alone should illustrate the quandary in which we find ourselves today. This is just an illustration. World Bank loans or IMF credits or any other international so-called aid, in their total effect, are not much different.

It is time we changed our approach to the problem of development and re-plan our economic development strategy. We make bold to say that we should ask the countries who show interest in our development and profess friendship to buy more from us whatever we produce and manufacture. The money that is given as aid should bear no interest because it will also go to support their industries. Every single dollar that is thus borrowed should and must be used for production purposes and not to pay out emoluments to foreign consultants and local bureaucrats.

/12851
CSO: 4600/283

LONDON PPP ACTIVITIES, GHULAM MUSTAFA KHAR STATEMENT

Karachi JANG in Urdu 3 Mar 86 p 3, 14

[Article by Zahur Niazi in the column "London Diary": "Street Power Versus State Power"]

[Excerpts] The People's Party [PPP] is the country's largest single political party but, as it prepared to launch a powerful campaign toward providing alternate leadership, its responsibilities are doubled. It is easy to generate street power but difficult to control it. Me'raj Mohammed Khan adopted a different course for this reason. Mr Bhutto wanted to crush street power with state power because it had become difficult for him to rule without it. One group within the PPP consisits of active young men who consider it a matter of pride to sacrifice their lives for their leadership. But in the words of Jahangir Badar, party president of Punjab, when Miss Benazir Bhutto nominated him as the president of an important province like Punjab from a lower rank, she bestowed upon him such an honor and encouragement that after this, even if he were to give his life, it would only be a trifle. This is the same group that stood by the PPP in its difficult days, when most of the people who had shared power and authority with Mr Bhutto, who could not win even local elections on their own and who had been raised to high posts and allotted buildings on the Mall, abandoned him and instead of sharing his misfortunes hatched conspiracies to become chairmen within the party and came to an understanding with the government. Jahangir Badar, speaking on behalf of this group, said, "Miss Benazir Bhutto would like to make the party a political organization and, to do so, must defeat forces both inside and outside the party that are determined to destroy it." He said that, on behalf of all the party workers and the people of Punjab, he would like to assure that they do not accept anyone as their leader except Begum Bhutto and Miss Benazir Bhutto. He added that if anyone claiming to be brave and worthy of being a leader challenges their leadership, he should come forward and measure his strength. He said that, though the days of hardship are not over and they are confronted by Gen Ziaul Haq's policies, they will succeed on both fronts.

There is another group inside the party which tends to vacillate and follows a policy of give and take. This group, too, has a political position of its own. Just now this group and the party are dependent on one another.

Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's name could be given as the best example of this group. It was Mr Jatoi's courage and resolve alone that allowed him without showing any disloyalty to the Bhutto family to withhold the list of office holders sent by Miss Benazir for the Sindh organization. The leadership, too, knew that if it were to disregard Jatoi and announce the nomination of officers, it would harm the party in Sindh rather than benefit it. The party's present leadership has snubbed Jatoi in many respects. For example, when before arriving in London Mr Jatoi announced that he would be going to France to hold important discussions with Begum Nusrat Bhutto, party sources in order to let Mr Jatoi know the type of person he would be dealing with announced that there was very little possibility of his meeting with Begum Bhutto, that he did not have her address or telephone number. It was merely coincidence that just when Jatoi was meeting with Miss Benazir she received a telephone call from Begum Bhutto, who, being informed of Jatoi's presence, spoke with him. He was asked to reconsider his circle of friends by conveying to him the message that dinner parties were being given practically every night in honor of Jahangir Badar, president of Punjab, and that his invitations had not yet started. It may be that Mr Jatoi did not need such parties but still this message was particularly intended as a warning for him to mend his ways. Makhdoom Khaliquzzaman and Sayed Qasim Ali Shah's names are being mentioned among the people who are causing concern to Mr Jatoi. They have been advised by Miss Benazir to see her in London. During a meeting Mr Jatoi denied having any differences with Makhdoom Khaliquzzaman. As these lines were written, nothing was definitely known about his arrival in London. But a new element was introduced into this contention with the attempt to prevent Qasim Ali Shah's departure at the Karachi airport. A question is now being raised as to whether the government is trying to influence the decisions of the PPP.

The third group within the party as far as Sindh is concerned covers workers who have been supporting the Abdul Hafeez Pirzada and Mumtaz Bhutto Front but consider themselves members of the party and do not accept their expulsion from the party. Together with the "Jiye Sindh Movement," the Front may become another significant source of trouble in Sindh to the People's Party. For this reason, the party has been undecided about the affairs of the Front.

Ghulam Mustafa Khar is challenging the party leadership on this basis. He says that confederation is aimed at breaking up the country and that conditions existing inside the country are the same as those prevailing at the time of the fall of Dhaka. According to him, certain people look the same and are moving towards that kind of destruction right now. Mustafa Khar could be called the fourth group of the party. If it can be alleged that Khar is raising the bugbear of the Front just to enhance the brilliance of his leadership in the Punjab, there can also be no doubt that the lion of Electoral District No 6 has once again come out of his den after 8 years and that by opposing the Front he cannot only gain forgiveness from the people of the Punjab for his past sins but also create difficulties for the party. According to Mr Khar, before he challenged the Front he used to meet

practically every morning and evening with the party leadership and now it has been 8 months since he last saw them. He says that, at first, he remained silent, believing that the party leadership would react immediately and vehemently and would call him to account for his actions, because on the one hand he was considered one of the party leaders and on the other hand was conspiring against the country to break it up, but the party leadership remained silent. If the people have supported the party, he says, it is because they expect it to work for the good of the country and, if anyone thinks that the party got the country transferred in its name, he is the victim of a misunderstanding. No political leader owns this country. The leaders are the guardians of the country and give their lives when the country is faced with difficulties.

It is believed that Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar, more than anyone else was awaiting the arrival of his friend Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, hoping he could have discussions openly with the leadership in his presence. It is for this reason that Mustafa Khar neither complained about the excesses committed by the leadership against himself nor criticized the leadership. From the outset, he had opposed the Front and criticized the party as well. It appears that when Mr Jatoi presented Mr Khar's case to Miss Benazir he either failed to gain any consideration or could not present his case forcefully enough in accordance with Mr Khar's expectations. Therefore, Mr Khar had to come out openly himself.

Mr Khar says that perhaps no one had the opportunity of seeing the People's Party and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto as closely as himself. He says that he learned a lot from Mr Bhutto and after so many years of political life, and keeping apart his personal feelings, it is his duty to warn the people in the light of his ideas and experience of the dangers the country is facing. It is up to them to decide what is right and what is wrong. He goes on to say that he witnessed the situation in East Pakistan very closely and that it was through him that Mujib and Bhutto made contact with each other. At that time, he says, his political ideas were not very mature and that his position was nothing more than that of a trusted colleague of the late Mr Bhutto, and he could not understand the situation so well. He wishes his ideas had been mature or that he had held the position he now holds so that he could have played the role he is playing today. He says that Shaikh Mujibur Reahman was reared by Hussein Shaheed Suhrawardy, who was a member of the Pakistan movement, but later on Mujib used Suhrawardy's party to partition Pakistan. It happens, he says, that some parties which at one time performed great duties, at other times, as a result of human error and weakness, led the country towards destruction. If the country's fate were to be trusted to a single person and he made the owner of everything, then however much he may wish the country well, he can lead it to destruction. It is the duty of the leaders and members of parties to execute their duties rightly, Mr Khar says, adding that let alone learning from the experiences of others, they did not learn from their own experience of the "Fall of Dhaka". He says that they closed their ears and blindfolded themselves and, instead of preventing disaster, they were constantly moving towards it, and believed that God would save

Pakistan. He says that, at the time the "Fall of Dhaka" power struggle was in progress, some people thought that they alone could understand the situation and did not feel it necessary to warn the people. When East Pakistan was being defeated, a dictator was busy announcing the future constitution, and when General Niazi was surrendering his arms to General Arora, good tidings were being broadcast over the TV and radio that Indian attacks were being repulsed. Mr Khar says that he is now 50 years old, that he has held power and authority to some extent and also has paid for it. He says that, except for Mr Bhutto, no one paid as much as he did, that after a political struggle lasting 25-30 years, he ruled only for 2 years, that he is not picnicking in London, and every moment he passes away from home is full of torment and suffering. He says that he left the country when he was 100 percent sure that he would be hanged, that even though the chances of his being hanged are 50 percent even now he has decided to return to Pakistan, that the country needs him badly and that the conditions are not so bad as to be beyond repair. Once the cancer spreads, treatment will become difficult, he says, and he sees destruction looming right ahead of him. He says that if it could be stopped with his blood he would be willing to lay down his life. He says that he has already spent more than half his life for the good of the country and that henceforth all his efforts will be in that direction. He asserts that he does not want any position either in the government or the party, that for 7 years now the People's Party has been taking a beating whereas he himself has been doing so for the last 10 years. He says that his worldly love consists of love and honor bestowed on him by the common man and no one can ever say that he refused to take any risk to save his own neck. If that were true, he says, neither would he forgive himself nor would the people forgive him, and similarly he would not be able to account for his actions before God.

He says that he does not want any credit for himself, but the fact is that, when he criticized the Front, if at first it had been going at the rate of 100 miles per hour, it slowed down to 30 miles per hour. As a result of his criticism, he added, the Front changed its tactics and Hafeez and Mumtaz changed their attitude and started talking about Punjab before Punjab was their goal. He says that in his message to the people of Pakistan he is asking them to stand up to the Front with all their strength and that, if the people are united, the Front will be exposed and defeated.

He said that Hafeez attacked him personally during his interview and, though he does not wish to engage Hafeez in personal conflict, he would like to challenge him to debates in Karachi, Hyderabad, Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta and let the people decide for themselves that he was not afraid and would not be subdued by feminist warfare. He says that he began fighting Hafeez for the sake of the country and that he would continue to fight him to the last. He said that Hafeez today was talking about provincial autonomy whereas he (Khar) had given up the post of chief minister for it, fought against the party leadership. At that time, Khar says, Hafeez was the biggest adversary of provincial autonomy and Mumtaz Bhutto was busily engaged in provoking strife between old and new Sindhis and today is

trying to deceive them again. As a result of Mumtaz Bhutto's nonsensical talk against the refugees during cabinet meetings, 45 percent of the people of Sindh turned against him, Khar says, and he was forced to relinquish the post of chief minister. He believes the PPP received the greatest setback from the language riots in Sindh. He says the records of TV interviews Hafeez held during this period, his speeches in the National Assembly and press conferences show that Hafeez was the biggest advocate of a strong center when he himself was clamouring for provincial autonomy, because in addition to the smaller provinces Punjab would benefit the most. Many people died for provincial autonomy in Electoral District No 6, Mr Khar says, adding that he did not want to become either the prime minister or the chief minister, but wanted to demonstrate the greatness and the strength of Punjab. Hafeez and Mumtaz put an end to provincial autonomy, today they want to destroy Pakistan, he says.

Mr Khar says that recently he has been receiving hundreds of telephone calls from Pakistan asking him to make a decision, that party members are saying that the whole leadership is in London while others intrigue against the country and that the expression of despair on his part would be harmful to the party. Mr Khar believes that they have not been able to defend themselves against the allegations of their adversaries about the party leadership and its policies but that they must respond now, as perhaps it will not be possible later. He says that people are now inquiring about the role played by the party leadership when shooting was going on in Sindh and the people were being oppressed. People looked to the People's Party when Sindh was being subjected to tyranny and oppression and Pakistan was becoming weak. When it is a question of the life of the nation and the country, the leadership should fight to the last for the good of the country. The message sent from here was that Begum Bhutto called on the members of the national and provincial assemblies to come out on the street with the Holy Koran in their hands. This message was not sent by any leader of the party but through a personal friend of the family, Dr Xafar Niazi. It is evident that such a call could not be effective. He says that today he believes that the sacrifices and the subsequent feeling of deprivation in Sindh gave rise to the formation of the Sindhi-Baluch-Pashtoon Front. One that fails to give the right kind of leadership in evil days deserves to be blamed. He says that, if such things had happened while Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was alive, he would have kept awake for 24 to 48 hours without sleeping, but today the attitude of the leadership is not serious. He says that he is very disappointed and angry that Hafeez and Mumtaz are using the name of the People's Party. Among the people who welcomed Mumtaz at the Karachi airport was a large number of Party workers. On the other hand, a small man dismisses 150 workers because he does not like them.

He asks whether anyone has respect for Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's grave, who his successor is, who his attendant is and who is using his grave for the sake of gaining leadership. He says that Bhutto's grave is being used to destroy Pakistan. He asks where his guardians are, adding that Noora, who was a witness,died. He recalls that Bhutto used to say that, if his bones were needed to save Pakistan, they could be collected and asks why the party

leadership does not take up a clear-cut position, as, God forbid, if something were to happen to Pakistan, what prestige and honor will his grave have. However, he says, the leadership did not have the capability to stop the formation of the Front, and the government did temporarily benefit from the Front's formation. He enquires as to whether the leadership of the People's Party played a role in the formation of the Front. He appeals to his leadership, in conjunction with opposing the rulers and working to change the government, not to overlook its duty towards the conspiracy to destroy Pakistan; otherwise, if the people come to the conclusion that the party's strength is being used, not to unite the country, but to break it up and that this leadership cannot save Pakistan, the dream for the future of 1 million to 1.5 million people will not be realized, and hardly 10 people will come. The people's support is for Pakistan only, he says.

Mr Khar says that he is the friend of Benazir's father and that Mr Bhutto had had her vacate her room for him and told her that her uncle would be living in her room. He says that he cannot bear to see his friend's daughter being ruined and adds that he is working for the well-being of the party, that he does not want any position and that he is Pakistan's, especially Punjab's, voice. He says that he is not talking about removing Benazir from the chairmanship of the party and neither is he trying to acquire the leadership for himself or give it to someone else. All he wants, he says, is that the policy of the party should not be kept secret, as they kept it secret in the beginning and, as a result, lost the fight. If the people had been taken into confidence, East Pakistan could have been saved. People who wish to run the country should take the decisions of the people into account; they do not have the right to conduct talks behind closed doors.

He says that he is grateful to her father and that he will not forget the benevolence conferred on him as long as he lives. He says that, as far as he is concerned, the people are the real masters and that he cannot include anyone else in the ownership of the country. He says that he has seen the rise and fall of the party, that if people knowing nothing about the ABC's of politics had led Mr Bhutto astray and made him hold elections he repented all his life and adds that he wished he had not listened to them.

He said that it is the duty of the party leadership to settle differences. He says that groups are formed by those people who are weak, but today the party leadership itself was forming groups. He added that some have small differences of opinion with the leadership, but that doesn't mean that they hate the leadership, they just have some complaints about it. He said he knows that whatever he says will be harmful for him in Pakistan, but the question is to whom he should be faithful. He adds that if you follow the right path you will respect him all your life otherwise you will be obstructing the way.

In his words, old leadership is not a pair of shoes that can be disposed of at will. He compares old leadership to the trunk of a tree and says that you cut away dried branches, not the trunk. Zulfiqar Bhutto also tried to cut the trunk and the people, as well as Mr Bhutto, saw the consequences. When Bhutto introduced the new leadership, he did not have a successor. He says that old leadership is not a sheep or a goat that can be slaughtered and thrown away and that no one can put an end to leadership, no one has the strength to do so. Leadership, he says, is conferred by the people and, thus, leaders need acceptance not from one man, but from the people. Mr Khar went on to say that Benazir is his daughter and cousin and whenever she calls him he will not refuse, be it by day or by night, but if she does not call him he cannot force her to do so. But he says the question is not about meeting but coming to an understanding. It is quite possible, he added, that a meeting can pave the way for improved conditions.

In the end Mr Khar says that he can prove that the people of Punjab support him. He says that even after 8 years the people follow whatever he says. However, he adds that the horse and the field are finally about to come together. He says it will become clear, and adds that Punjab always supported him and that he has begun telling his friends that if they want to take part in politics they should return to Pakistan.

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BRIEFS

TALKS WITH POLAND--Lahore, April 6--Prospects of Polish participation in the power generation projects were discussed at high level meeting between the visiting Deputy Minister for Mining and Energy, Poland and Wapda officials, here today. Chairman, Wapda, Lt Gen Chulam Safdar Butt informed the Polish Minister Ryszard Euchowiecki and his delegation that Wapda would welcome Poland set up of one or more 350-450 NW oil fired thermal power stations at Jamshoro, which were part of Wapda's power development plans to meet the growing demand of electricity on the system. Wapda chief emphasised that Wapda had full confidence in the capability of Polish engineers and manufacturers of electrical equipment. He pointed out that this power station could be set up under suppliers credit, as a joint venture, or even under barter trade agreement between the two countries. Ryszard Euchowiecki informed that Poland was now manufacturing transmission and grid station equipments ranging between 110 kv and 750 kv and was also in a position to supply the full equipments for big thermal power plants. [Text] [Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 7 Apr 86 p 1] /12851

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Near East/South Asia Report

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JPRS-NEA-86-058

6 MAY 1986

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

CONTENTS

ARAB AFRICA

EGYPT

Opposition Paper Publishes Criticism of Secular Attitude
(Yusuf al-Qirdawi; AL-SHA'B, 11, 18 Mar 86)..... 1

Former Minister Discusses Economic Situation
('Aziz Sidqi; AL-AHRAM, 15 Mar 86)..... 14

Police Riot Linked to Economic, Political Situation
(Lufti al-Khuli; AL-AHRAM, 15 Mar 86)..... 17

Middle Class Urged To Participate in Austerity Program
('Adil Husayn; AL-SHA'B, 18 Mar 86)..... 22

LIBYA

Background on Cabinet Changes Given
(AL-HAWADITH, 31 Mar 86)..... 25

ARAB EAST/ISRAEL

ISRAEL

Poll Takes Views of Nablus Inhabitants on Administration
(Farras Hamdi al-Qisas; AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI, 25 Jan 86).... 27

Power of the Orthodox Press Discussed
(KOTERET RASHIT, No 175, 9 Apr 86)..... 39

Ma'ale Adumim Celebrates Tenth Anniversary
(NEQUDA, No 97, 25 Mar 86)..... 47

Settlement of Tel Hayim Described
(NEQUDA, No 97, 25 Mar 86)..... 51

Pressures on National Morale Analyzed
(Yosef Mikhelsqil; DAVAR, 9 Mar 86)..... 56

Religious Terror Against Secular Merchants
(Natan Ro'i; DAVAR, 7 Mar 86)..... 59

Briefs
Water Emergency in Northern Israel 61

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

PLO Representative in London Interviewed
(Faysal 'Uwaydah Interview; AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI,
1 Feb 86)..... 62

Feminist Leader in Gaza Interviewed
(Yura al-Barbari Interview; AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI,
22 Feb 86)..... 67

SOUTH ASIA

IRAN

Opposition Paper Comments on U.S.-USSR Power Struggle
(London KEYHAN, 10 Apr 86)..... 72

Velayati: War To Be Continued Until Saddam's Overthrow
(ETTELA'AT, 30 Mar 86)..... 74

Deceased Clergy Eulogized for Resisting Khomeyni
(London KEYHAN, 10 Apr 86) 80

Shari'atmadari's Popularity, Relations With Regime Discussed
(London KEYHAN, 10 Apr 86)..... 83

Amal Leader Gives Views on Lebanon, Other Issues
(Zakaria Hamzeh Interview; KEYHAN, 24 Feb 86)..... 88

Khamene'i's Arabic Sermon on Libya Attack
(Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Seyyed 'ali Khamene'i;
Tehran International Service, 18 Apr 86)..... 95

PAKISTAN

Bhutto Jail Torture, Pakistan-U.S. Antagonism Recalled
(Begum Nusrat Bhutto Interview; HURMAT, 8-16 Feb 86)..... 98

Bacha Khan's Karachi Visit Registers Sindhi Resentment
(Mukhtar Aqil; JANG, 20 Mar 86)..... 103

OPPOSITION PAPER PUBLISHES CRITICISM OF SECULAR ATTITUDE

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 11, 18 Mar 86

[Article by Dr Yusuf al-Qirdawi: "Yes to the Scientific Mentality, No to Secularism"]

[11 Mar 86 p 7]

[Text] Secularism (al-'ilmaniyah) is a word whose use in our Arabic language is recent, same as many words which have become expressions or have the force of expressions in our era. The "double y" is for attribution and the "an" is a suffix.

There are people who pronounce it with an i under the ' (al-'ilmaniyah), attributable to "science," with an i; this is better known. There are those who pronounce it with an a (al-'almaniyah), attributable to "world," that is, the terrestrial world, which is the procedure of the al-Mu'jam al-Wasit, which is issued by the academy of the Arabic language.

In any case, the word, whether with an i or an a, is a translation from European languages and is a translation of the English word secular. It could have been translated by the term "nonreligious," because the meaning of the English word is "something that is not religious," and everything that is not religious is non-religious. However, the word "'ilmani" or "madani" was chosen, because it is less provocative than the word "nonreligious."

In addition, the meaning of the word is alien to our Arabic lexicon. Its meaning and sense, whether with an i or an a, is the opposite of "religion." Secularism is what is not religious, and its converse is the religious or divine. The sense of "secularism" which has been agreed upon means the isolation of religion from the state and the life of the society, and its preservation as a prisoner in the conscience of the individual which does not go beyond the special relationship between him and his lord. If it is permitted to express itself, that is in individual rituals and ceremonies related to marriage and death and the like.

This concept is unknown in our Islamic heritage. Classifying the affairs of life by what is religious and what is not religious is non-Islamic. Indeed, it is an imported classification, drawn from the Christian West.

The classification of life, people and institutions into religious and non-religious categories which we see today in our Arab and Islamic societies is not in any way part of Islam.

There was no religious and non-religious education in Islam, as in our recent times up to today. There were no people in Islam called men of religion or others called men of knowledge, politics or the world, and Islam did not know two powers, one religious and the other temporal or wordly. In the heritage of Islam, a religion in which there is no politics, or politics in which there is no religion, was unknown.

Religion permeated all of life as the spirit permeates the body; nothing separate exists known as the spirit and nothing separate known as the body. That is how religion and knowledge, religion and the terrestrial world, or religion and the state have existed in Islam.

Secularism, a Western commodity, did not come into being in our land, and does not order our beliefs and intellectual premises.

The Justifications for the Emergence of Secularism in the Christian West

The emergence of secularism in the West had its religious, intellectual, psychological, historic and realistic justifications. These are justifications peculiar to the Western world regarding and it is not permissible for the Islamic world to imitate it in their regard.

The Division of Life between God and Caesar

Western Christianity contains interpretations which support the notion of secularism, that is, the separation of church and state, or the spiritual and temporal authority.

One of these is that Caesar, the party which is subject to temporal authority, has the authority of the state, and the second is that God, who is the party subject to the spiritual authority, has the authority of the church.

That is clear in the statement of Christ as the New Testament relates it: "Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's, and render unto God what is God's!"

From the history of Western thought, one may deduce that it has not been acquainted with the God that we Moslems know, embracing everything, arranging everything, with no hidden thoughts secret to him, no grain in the heaven or earth absent from his knowledge, hearing everything, in mercy and knowledge, enumerating everything, giving everything a fate, sending prophets to bring good tidings and warning and along with them revealing the book with the truth so that they may arbite among people regarding the things they differ over.

Islam does not accept the duality which Christian thought and Western thought, that divide man and break down life between almighty God and Caesar, has been familiar with: Caesar is not a peer of God's, to fight with him over his property; rather, he is God's servant, subject to his wisdom and subject to his orders and prohibitions, as are all servants.

The Islamic belief in unification rejects sharing in servitude to God, sharing in loyalty to him or sharing in obedience to his rule. Moslems wish nothing other than God as a lord and take no one but God as a guardian. They do not wish other than God as an arbiter, as stated by the chapter on unification, the Chapter of the Cattle, and the Moslem must belong totally to God and his life must belong totally to God: "Say, my prayers, my ritual sacrifice, my living and my dying all belong to God, the lord of the two worlds." (Chapter of the Cattle.)

In Christianity There Is No Legislation Regarding the Affairs of Life

In another area, Christianity does not have detailed legislation regarding the affairs of life to control its dealings, regulate its relations and set out the principles and balances of equity for its conduct. Rather, it consists of spiritual and moral precepts which are contained in the exhortations of the New Testament and Christ's statements in it, contrary to Islam, which has assumed the form of belief and Islamic law and has set out the principles of life for man from the cradle to the grave: "We have revealed the book to you making everything clear and as a guidance, mercy and good tidings for the Moslems." (Chapter of the Bee.)

Therefore, Islamic legislation includes what is permissible and forbidden in the life of the individual, regulates rights and duties within the circle of the family and regulates the affairs of exchanges and transactions in society among people. It is also concerned with the affairs of management, money, Islamic legal policy and everything related to the rights of the overseer and those who are overseen, in addition to international relations between the Islamic nation and other peaceful and belligerent nations.

Christians do not have such comprehensive legislation to which they can refer, by which they can be ruled and in which they can seek arbitration.

When a Christian is governed by a civilian, secular law, he does not become very distressed, because that does not invalidate a law which his religion has imposed on him and he does not feel a contradiction between his belief and his actual conditions that is felt by a Moslem, whose belief in God and his prophet requires him to seek arbitration in God and his prophet with respect to what they have codified and to hear and obey what they have ordered or prohibited: "Rather it was the statement of the devout, when they are called to God and his prophet, that he may judge among them, that they say, 'We have heard and obeyed.' They are the prosperous." (Chapter of the Light.)

Islam Has no Papal Religious Authority

However, although secularism has separated the Christian religion from its state, or its state from its religion, its religion has not been neglected and its authority has not vanished, because it has an authority which in actuality exists, which has its power, its danger, its money and its men.

There are in fact two authorities in Christianity: the religious authority, represented by the pope and the clerics.

The worldly authority, represented by the king or president and men of his government and aides of his authority.

While the state is separated from the religion there, religion continues to be present, in the shadow of its strong, wealthy, potent authority, and its armies (of monks, nuns and male and female proselytizers) continue to work in their various areas while the government does not hold sway over them.

This is contrary to what an Islamic government would do; the result is that the religion remains without any authority supporting it or power backing it since it has no papacy, no divinity and no clerics.

This is what happened in Moslem Turkey when Kamal Ataturk declared the secular nature of the state, separated it from religion and separated religion from it, as the Moslem Moroccan writer Prof Driss Kattani did in his book "The Moslem Maghreb against Latinism." The professor stated, "Turkey's experiment over 30 years (now 59 years) has established proof that the application of this system in an Islamic country means eliminating Islam as a living, prosperous belief and an immortal human message, because stripping the government of the religious authority and of the coloration of religion, bearing in mind that there is no one to represent this authority in Islamic society as is the case in Christianity, means only ruining the authority of the Islamic religion altogether. That is exactly what has happened in Turkey. When the Kamalists separated their religion from all authority (religious authority), they actually did not want it to exist. Therefore they deliberately established a small department for religious affairs which would supervise mosques, and that is the only manifestation which has been preserved for Islam in Turkey.

"It is clear that this department has not had any religious authority, because in reality it is a mere government department. It is not possible, in any case, to compare the influence of this department with the great spiritual authority of the pope in the Christian world and his powers of administering the churches and all Christian institutions and departments, which are totally independent.

"Thus it is clear to us that the system of 'no religious nature in the state,' while in harmony with Christianity and not eliminating its authority, but rather specifying its areas of jurisdiction with repect to worldly power, is totally in conflict with the nature of Islam, is a direct threat to it as a total system of legislation for life, prevents its mobile agencies from performing their function, and consequently turns it into an emotion of conscience dormant in people's hearts.

"Therefore, the Moslem Maghreb will not allow the return of the 'Turkish experiment' to its pure territory and will become 'laic' only when its people want to relinquish their belief and faith and disdain their history and mission. That is what it did not permit for colonialism in the past and will not permit for the people who have fallen under its intellectual dominance in the future, God permitting."

The fact is that this is not just the position of the Moslem Maghreb; it is also the position of the Arab east and the position of the whole Islamic

world, because everyone's point of departure is the same, the design is the same and the threat to them is the same.

The History of the Church Is Not the History of Islam

Moreover, the history of the church itself relative to science, thought and freedom is a frightful one. The Western church sided with ignorance against science, with superstition against thought, with tyranny against freedom and with the kings and feudalists against the people, until the masses rose up against it, liberated themselves from direct rule by its men, and considered the separation of religion from the state a gain for the peoples against their oppressors.

The history of the Western church, in the mind of Christian Western man, means oppression, killing, courts of inspection and constant massacres among factions conflicting with themselves and the restoration of authority to the church means the return of these tragedies. It is small wonder that Westerners should disdain it and stand against its rule and authority.

The Failure of Secularism in the Lands of Islam

For this reason, it is inconceivable that secularism could succeed in an Islamic country, because it is in contradiction with the nature of Islam, which the Moslem peoples believe in devoutly, and in contradiction with their concepts, behavior and history. There is no justification for its existence such as there is in the Christian West.

All secularism does is try to change the nature and the orientation of the nation, and the nation does not respond to it. A struggle arises between secular rule and the Moslem nation which is apparent at times and latent at times, spreads one day and regresses on another, but it is an ongoing, constant struggle, because it is a struggle between the self and aggression against the self. It might be latent like fire in a volcano, but it must erupt someday.

In any event, the secular movement obstructs the nation's takeoff with its full powers, because it is alien to it and strange to it. It does not move it from within itself and does not address it in the language which will shake it to the depths.

The most prominent Islamic country which has been governed by secularism, in which its designs have been carried out, where it has struck with an iron hand at everyone who resisted it and in this regard has strode through a sea of blood is Turkey, the country of the last Islamic caliphate which Ataturk oppressed with the application of the Western model in all of life, in politics, economics, society, education and culture and which he tore away from its heritage, values and traditions, as sheep are skinned, establishing a non-religious constitution totally separating religion from life on whose basis arose laws which were totally offensive to Islam, even with respect to the affairs of the family and personal status.

Have Ataturk, his successors after him, the constitution, laws, education, media, army and police along with them and the West with all its might and

power behind them been able to extirpate the roots of Islamic ideas, Islamic feelings, Islamic aspirations and Islamic values from the life of the Turkish Moslem people?

The actual situation which everyone who has visited Turkey in recent years has seen, where mosques are to be seen crowded with people of all generations at prayer, where Koran schools numbering in the thousands are to be observed, where institutes for imams and preachers are to be noted, where the spread of Islamic books is to be observed, where the state of the Turks who live in Germany and other countries of Europe is to be observed -- this situation, no a thousand times no. It would not be bad for me here to quote what the French newspaper LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE wrote on 18 January 1983 concerning Turkey, between the civil nature of the West and the genuineness of Islam, quoted by the magazine AL-RA'ID which is issued in Aachen, Germany. The paper said:

"After 2 centuries of reforms aimed at imprinting a Western character on Turkish society and after half a century of secular rule, there is now talk about the revival of Islam anew in Turkey, which was one of the first Islamic countries to separate politics from religion.

"The Kamalist revolution of Kamal Ataturk made secularism the basis of the state and the basis of modernization in it, which meant that Islam had to depart from public life and retain only the right to influence the consciences of the devout. Thus, Islam, which is religion and politics before everything, was turned into a special question by the stroke of a pen on the part of the state, which proceeded to supervise it.

"But has Islam nonetheless been extinguished in the consciences of the Turks? Has it disappeared from Turkish political life? It appears that the opposite is the case. With the disappearance of Islam from the world of the ruling class, it has been turned into the focus of political options in the country. Islamic societies and religious teachings have continued to exert their influence among the masses in Anatolia, indeed, have gained new partisans. The Turkish masses' enthusiasm for Islamic symbols is not just attributed to the activity of the al-Naqshabandi, al-Qadiri and other societies or to the regime's essential nature of hostility to religion. Rather, that can be attributed to the rejection by Turkish society of any social model which departs from the Islamic cultural framework and this society's fear of seeing the Turkish cultural identity gradually dissolved in the midst of the growth of the influence of the model of Western life within Turkey. It is difficult now to determine the number of followers of religious societies in Turkey and the number of people who go to secret Islamic schools, because these societies and schools do not operate as parties do; however, it is possible to get an idea through the share of the votes received by the Party of National Deliverance, headed by Mr Arbakan, who is now sitting in prison on the charge of opposing the principles of secularism and violating Article 163 of the law which prohibits the appeal for any connection between religion and economic or political life. The fact is that the Party of Deliverance started with the advent of the Parliamentary pattern to Turkey, received 11.8 percent of the total votes in the 1973 elections and has retained this percentage in general, in spite of a declining trend until the military coup took place in September 1980."

Secularism in the territory of Islam is a microbe that is alien to the body of Islam, and the agencies of natural immunity within it must resist it. It will survive only at the expense of the safety and life of the nation.

[18 Mar 86 p 6]

[Text] The "scientific mentality" is a goal which is attributed to science and seeks arbitration from it in all areas and material and moral affairs of life, civil and military, political and economic, individual and social.

The "people of scientific mentality" are people who embrace this goal, respect what science stipulates, yield to its rule and adapt their lives in accordance with its requirements.

As to the others, they continue on their way in accordance with personal caprices and emotions or assumptions and illusions, or out of imitation of others without examination or choice.

By "science" here we mean what categoric proof has established. How many issues have been presented within the category of "science" which are in no way a part of science!

From this arise many of the conclusions of human and social sciences, some of whose students wish to clothe them in the garment of categoric science, though they are no more than deductions based on uncertain principles, some of which might be accepted and some or all of which might be rejected.

Nothing indicates that more than that conclusions differ as the intellectual schools which the researchers belong to, between West and East, between right and left, differ, each differing in degree from far right to far left!

Nothing more more merits being applied to these people who claim a scientific mentality regarding things that are not scientific than what God said regarding a people who had come before them: "They have no knowledge of it. They follow only imagining, and imagining is of no avail against the truth." (Chapter of the Star.)

We Moslems are the people who are most entitled to respect science and embrace the scientific mentality regarding all our affairs. Religion to us is science, science to us is religion, and our heritage has not been familiar with a struggle between religion and science as was the West, which ground the millstone of war between them for centuries, one effect of which was the courts of inspection and its terrors which are an embarrassment to history.

The miracle of the prophet of Islam was not a "paragon of creation" to which suppressed peoples would be subject, but a "scientific paragon" to which minds with conviction would submit, and this is the holy Koran.

When the Arab apostates asked the prophet (on whom be God's prayers and peace) to have a paragon accessible to the senses, as the prophets before him did, the divine response to them was "Or wasn't it enough for them that we have revealed the book to you which would be read out to them?" (Verse of the Spider.)

It is sufficient for us that the first verse to be revealed in the Koran began with his almighty statement "Read in the name of your lord, who created."

The second verse to be revealed began with his statement "Nun: By the pen and what they draw out." (Chapter of the Pen, verse one.)

The Koran establishes the scientific intelligence, which considers that thinking is devotion and science is a religious duty and considers man, history and all being to be a state for viewing and reflecting: "And on earth there are signs for those who have sure faith, and within yourselves, do you not perceive?" (Chapter of the Winnowers.)

"Or have they not considered the kingdom of heaven and earth and anything God has created?" (Chapter of the Battlements.)

"Say, proceed on earth and see how God began creation." (The Spider.)

"Or did they not proceed on earth and see how the punishment of those who were before them was?"

"Did they not proceed on earth and have hearts to understand with or or ears to hear with? It is not the eyes that are blind, but blind are the hearts which are in people's chests." (Chapter of the Prophets.)

It is the intelligence which does not accept a claim without the proof that establishes its validity; otherwise the claim is to be rejected, no matter what it is: "Say, give your proof, if you are truthful."

Whoever has claimed prophethood has been asked for evidence: "Reveal a verse, if you are among the truthful."

Whoever calls people toward a belief is told, "Do you have the power for this, or do you say things you do not know concerning God?"

Whoever claims something about religion, and those who are in agreement with them, are told: "Do you have knowledge? Produce it for us." (The Sheep.) "Prophecy knowledge for us, if you are truthful."

That is the "scientific intelligence" which requests certain proof in mentalities, the truth of experience in matters of the senses, and the truth of transmission regarding things that are related: "Bring me a book before this, or some remnant of knowledge, if you are truthful." (Chapter of the Sand Dunes, Verse Four.)

The mentality which rejects surmise in the place of what is certain: "Most of them follow only imagining, and imagining is of no avail against the truth in regard to anything."

It refuses to follow caprice instead of following the truth, the caprices of people or the caprices of others: "And no one is more wayward than those who follow their own caprices without guidance from God." (Chapter of the

Stories.) Then, "We have brought you an Islamic law on the matter, so follow it and do not follow the caprices of those who do not know."

It rejects the principle of imitating one's forefathers, if they were in obvious waywardness: "Or if their fathers did not know anything and were not guided." (Chapter of the Table.)

It rejects subordination to others without reason even if they are the people's masters and major figures: "And they said, our lord, we obeyed our masters and major figures and they caused us to lose the way." (Chapter of the Parties.)

It is sufficient for us that the Koran has encouraged knowledge and has praised its effects in a number of the stories of the glorious prophets.

It is in the story of Adam, the person first proposed to succeed God on earth; through knowledge Adam proved his superiority over the intimate angels.

It is in the story of Joseph, the one by whom God saved Egypt and its surrounding area from destructive famine, as a result of firm economic agricultural planning in terms of production, storage and consumption, for a period of 15 years.

It is in the story of Solomon, through whom his companion (who had knowledge from books) managed to bring him the throne of the Queen of Sheba from Yemen to Syria, before his party turned on him, which was something that a demon among the monsters could not do. That proved that the strength of man founded on knowledge is superior to the power of monsters, in spite of the powers and abilities they have.

In the sayings and doings of the prophet (on whom be God's prayers and peace) we see the prophet attacking the illusions and superstitions which soothsayers and clairvoyants relied on in the atmosphere of idolatry.

They also severely condemned reliance on amulets and talismans and their like, unless the suitable cure is sought, declaring that God has not revealed an ailment without revealing a cure which those who have learned of it have learned of, and those who have been ignorant of it have been ignorant of.

We see the glorious prophet deferring his particular view to the view of experts, as at the battle of Badr, and his deferral to the view of al-Hibab Ibn al-Mundhir.

We see him (on whom be God's prayers and peace), after the flight to Madinah, taking the initiative of making a "census" of the people who believed in him, by which to learn the extent of the "strike force" in his possession. He said, "Count for me the number of those who utter Islam." They made the count for him, and they were 1,500 men, as al-Bukhari related it.

We see him (on whom be God's prayers and peace) relying on the results of experimentation in technical matters related to the affairs of the world, in

the form of methods of farming, industry, the provision of arms, medicine and so forth. In this regard the true saying declared "You are more knowing of the affairs of your world."

These Koranic and prophetic teachings were not mere ink on paper. They yielded their fruit, and in the light of them arose a civilization with a proud structure, with firm pillars, which created a brotherhood between faith and knowledge, between belief and thought and between religious law and wisdom, within which explicit objects that were known by the intelligence did not clash with proper transmitted things. Rather, their scholars stipulated that the intelligence is the basis of transmission, and if we eliminate the intelligence no transmission or inspiration will be proved to us, and that the great facts in religion are proved first of all by the mind, before inspiration gives proof.

Through the intelligence, we have inferred the existence of almighty God, through the intelligence, we have inferred the validity of prophecy in general, and through the intelligence we have inferred the truth of the prophecy of Muhammad in particular and inferred that the Koran he revealed comes from God.

Belief, among us Moslems, is founded on the basis of evidence and proof, not on the basis of the imitation of one's forefathers or obedience to major figures. The appeal in Islam must be through knowledge. There is nothing in Islam that in other religions has been known through such statements of theirs as "Believe or you are blind!" or "Close your eyes then follow me!"

Therefore, the Koran has been heavily charged with proof of the unification of almighty God, the veracity of his prophet, the possibility of resurrection, the wisdom of punishment in the hereafter, and so forth.

Religious law in Islam is founded on consideration for the interests of the worshippers in life and in the hereafter, as its jurisprudence expresses, as the deduction of its provisions regarding rituals and transactions shows and as the exegesis of the provisions in the Koran and the prophetic traditions affirm it.

It is a "logical" Islamic law which does not differentiate between two similar things and does not equate two different things. Therefore, analogy has been one of its principles which have been held in consideration among the public of the Moslem jurists.

Therefore, one of those who believed in the prophet, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, said, "He did not order anything where the mind said, 'Perhaps he proscribed it,' and he did not proscribe anything where the mind said, 'Perhaps he ordered it.'"

Morality in Islam is morality which can be understood and explained, and is not mere orders or a core of arbitrariness. Therefore, we find the holy Koran often following the giving of orders or proscriptions with a statement of the wisdom in them and the benefit behind them, even regarding mere rituals, as in his almighty statement on prayer "And hold prayer, for prayer

prohibits licentiousness and repugnant acts," on the tithe "Take from their money as alms which will purify them and by which they will be declared upright," and on the fast "Perhaps you will be pious." In the area of chastity and blamelessness he says "Tell the devout to avert their eyes and guard their private parts; that is more upright for them," "Do not be abject in your speech, so that he in whose heart there is illness will be covetous." Regarding the recommendations of the Chapter of the Family, we find instructions such as these: "Or you will sit reproached and denuded," "Surely it is an indecency and evil as a way" "You will never tear the earth open and attain the mountains in height," and so on.

The "scientific" or "intelligent" approach in Islam is a clear, constant matter and all those who have read any of the genuine teachings of Islam in its pure sources and are fair acknowledge that, even if they are not Moslems but are among those who have taken a position against Islam.

The well known French Marxist writer Maxime Rodinson states, in his discussion of the "Koranic belief," "The Koran is a sacred book in which intelligence occupies a truly great place. In it God ceaselessly discusses and evaluates forms of proof. Indeed, what most draws one's attention is that revelation itself, this phenomenon which is the least characterized by intelligence in any religion, revelation, which God has made to various prophets throughout the ages, and to their final figure, Muhammad, considering it the Koran, is itself an instrument of proof, and on numerous occasions he reiterates to us that the prophets brought 'evidence,' and he spares no effort to challenge his opponents to produce the likes of it.

"The Koran constantly offers intelligent forms of proof of divine power in the creation of heaven and earth, in the difference of night and day, in the reproduction of animals, in the rotation of the stars and celestial bodies, and in the diversities of the bounties of animal and plant life in a fashion which splendidly conforms with man's needs (the verses on the foremost essentials, Al 'Umran). (2)

"The action of the 'intelligence' (in the sense of linking thoughts to one another, the rule of the proof of the intelligence) is repeated about 50 times in the Koran and this disdainful question is repeated 13 times, as if it is essential: 'Are you not intelligent?'

"The infidels are the ones who refuse to hear Muhammad's call. They are decribed as 'a people who are not intelligent,' because they are deficient in any intellectual effort which will shake their inherited traditions. They thus are like inanimate bodies and livestock, indeed more inarticulate. Therefore God hates those people who do not want to review the bases of their thinking.

"Although he (he means glorious God) revealed verses which proved his existence and will, most important of which were the verses revealed to his prophet Muhammad, so that people could understand that and make of them a basis for their thinking, we see God advancing decisive evidence then concluding the proof with his statement 'surely there are signs for a people who are intelligent.'"

The writer continues to describe the intelligence of Islam, comparing this with what appeared in the ancient and modern eras of the Jews and the Christians, until he states, "In the face of this, Koranic intelligence seems as firm as rock."

This sort of intelligent atmosphere which the verses of the Koran have fashioned, as the Marxist thinker and others have acknowledged, constitutes the most fertile environment for fruitful scientific production founded on the maximum use of human powers and talents.

This all shows us the nature of the "atmosphere" which prepared Islam for the emergence of the sound "scientific course" that the researchers of the West have not been able to deny.

The scholar Rene Millet says, "The Moslems all came together in a new mission, a principle which branches out from religion itself, that is, the principle of reflection and research. They tended toward sciences and were excellent in them. They are the ones who set out the foundation of the science of chemistry, and great physicians were found among them."

Dr Franz Rosenthal says, "The greatest intellectual activity the Arabs performed is clearly apparent to us in the area of experimental knowledge, within the realm of their observations and experiments. They expressed amazing activity and individual thought, when they observed and investigated, and when they met and arranged the experimentation they were doing."

The famous historian and social philosopher Gustave LeBon says, "The Arabs are the ones who taught the world how freedom of thought is compatible with rightness of religion."

Although that has been Islam's position on science and the scientific mind, the Moslems' situation today requires that we remind them a thousand and one times of this fact, not because they all are living in what people call the "third world" or "developing countries," which is a polite expression for "backward countries," while they are still dependent on others for the food that keeps them alive and for the weapons that protect them! It is not just due to that that the Moslems must embrace the "scientific spirit" and the "scientific view;" rather, the need for that is affirmed by the dominance by anarchy, emotionalism and arbitrariness of the general climate in our lands.

It is no wonder that years and decades pass, and we do not move forward as we wish and as we should and as others advance. Rather, we either go backwards, stand in place, rotate about ourselves, or, in the best of conditions, proceed with the speed of a tortoise, while the world around us is proceeding with the speed of a rocket!

The "spirit of the scientific mind" we seek is broader and deeper than the mere study of science or excellence in it. It is a spirit which applies in all activities and positions, in the confrontation and explanation of events, and in dealing with friends and adversaries equally, indeed, in dealing with oneself as well.

There are characteristics or appearances in the scientific spirit, to some of which I would like to refer:

1. An objective view of a situation, things, statements and actions, regardless of persons. As 'Ali Ibn Abu Talib said, "You do not know the truth by the men; know the truth and you will know those who belong to it."

2. Respect for areas of specialization. As the Koran said, "Ask the people of the remembrance" "Ask an expert about it." No one can offer you a prediction like an expert. Religion has its own people, economics has its own people, the military has its own people, every art has its own men, especially in our era, the era of precise specialization. As to the person who knows about religion and politics, science and arts and economic and military affairs and gives rulings on everything, he in fact does not know anything.

3. The ability to criticize oneself, admit error, benefit from it and give a just evaluation of the experiences of the past, far removed from the "righteous" opinion which views the past entirely as virtues and glories!

4. The use of the most modern and powerful methods for achieving ends and benefiting from the experiences of others, even from adversaries. Wisdom is the goal of the devout person's persistent search: the one who finds it is most deserving of it.

5. The subjection of everything, except for religious and intellectual matters which are taken on faith, to examination and testing, and contentment with the results, whether they are for or against man.

6. The failure to be hasty in issuing judgments and decisions and embracing positions until after persistent study founded on deduction and enumeration and after constructive dialogue through which benefits become apparent and the objects of rebuke and flaws are discovered.

7. The appreciation of differing opinions and respect for the views of people who differ with respect to issues that have numerous features. The most extreme thing an individual thinker would say about himself is what al-Shafi'i, may God be content with him, said: "My view is correct but bears the likelihood of error, and the view of others is wrong and bears the likelihood of correctness!"

Footnotes:

1. Islam and Capitalism, translated by Nazih al-Hakim, published by al-Tali'ah House, p 134 ff.

2. It would have been more worthy to use the verse of the Cow, 164, as evidence. That corresponds to the author's statement here. It appears from the author's statement that he has just pursued the matter of "intelligence," in the Koran, and if he had pursued other words regarding the subject, such as "view," "thought," "science," "proof," "quintessence" and so forth, he would have produced a great deal, a very great deal.

3. See the chapter "Koranic Belief" from the book "Islam and Capitalism."

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FORMER MINISTER DISCUSSES ECONOMIC SITUATION

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 15 Mar 86 p 15

[Article by Dr 'Aziz Sidqi: "Opinion on Confronting the Economic Problem"]

[Text] We ought to be frank with ourselves. There is ample room for raising the efficiency of agricultural production. I do not wish to start an argument over this point. Production figures achieved by many countries who were in a situation similar to ours have not been realized in our country. There are many factors that figure in this matter, such as choice of seed, automation and fertilizing, etc. There are people who are better equipped than we are to deal with this subject.

At any rate, we must guarantee adequate supplies of basic commodities for the people. I wonder how it is that we were surprised that the area that used to grow a basic commodity such as lentils was too small and therefore, we have been forced to turn to imports. The same thing goes for some other basic commodities.

The government must adopt measures to guarantee that enough agricultural areas are used to grow basic crops.

Some may object on the basis that this constitutes government interference. I say what is wrong with that? The government has always interfered in guaranteeing the cultivation of areas set aside for cotton growing on grounds that this crop is essential to the national economy. Such measures are the essence of the government's jurisdiction and, indeed, its duty.

In any case, the government, according to reports I have read, reclaims about 150,000 feddans a year. Why don't we set aside this land, or the reclaimed portion, for growing specific crops to be determined by the government and honored by farmers.

The agricultural production structure must be designed to achieve maximum self-sufficiency in major food products. I do not care, neither does the majority of the laboring people, to see more strawberries grown as much as I am saddened by the fact we have to import lentils.

This is in connection with guaranteeing an adequate supply of basic food products. We move now to the discussion of whether the prices of these commodities that people buy can be lowered. Experts I have consulted--ask them yourselves if you do not know--say what the price producers (the farmers or the lands) get is sometimes one-third or one-half the price consumers have to pay. Part of the differences goes for expenses, such as loading and transportation costs, but the major portion goes to the merchants.

I must say here that this has always been a problem, but we must admit that much of this exploitation that goes on can be stopped. Based on the rates I have mentioned, I can say that it is possible, without interfering in what producers take in, to reduce the selling price by 20 percent or more. I cite examples that may indicate what can be done. The al-Salihiyah project--I am not trying to evaluate this project--has achieved a specific agricultural production level--fruits, vegetables, etc. It has set up distribution outlets in Cairo (I do not know if such outlets exist elsewhere) that sell these products directly to the consumer without middlemen, thus selling them at lower than market prices.

Let us move on to industrial products. Is there room for a price cut? Naturally this depends on the commodity, but there are matters that can be discussed.

1. In many cases our factories operate at less than full capacity.

2. Nonetheless, we allow the importation of similar products.

3. The prices of imported commodities are always much higher than locally-produced ones and examples are many and well-known.

With regard to the first point, I would like to say that increasing production capacity, raising worker efficiency and providing production requirements, modernization and retooling, and providing adequate protection for factories can achieve, without exaggeration, no less than a 15 to 20 percent increase in production at existing factories. By a simple calculation, this figure amounts to over 1 billion Egyptian pounds a year, a significant sum in terms of real foreign currency savings. Moreover, it helps to lower production costs, which is a known economic fact, and consequently, lowers prices.

I am aware the government has recently turned in that direction, sound direction, but at the same time, capabilities for increasing higher production must be made available so as to ensure adequate supplies at reasonable prices. But I must point here to the phenomenon of declining quality. I am sorry to say that our agricultural production standards in the sixties and early seventies were much higher than the current standards and that achieving such a good quality was difficult. But since we have attained it, we must not let it fall.

I was happy to hear President Mubarak say these same words during his recent visit to a factory. The government must translate these words into measures for implementing this wise and needed policy.

I have addressed myself mainly to what the government ought to do. This is natural, given the fact that it makes the policy observed in the country. This does not mean, however, that the government will be able to perform its role without our participation, each in his own way, in realizing our needs.

We must know that we are passing through a very difficult stage in which our economy is coming under much pressure. We must face this situation with appropriate action and I think that purely luxurious consumption, even if produced locally, must be greatly curtailed. We need all the money spent on the importation of luxury items to pay for more basic needs.

I know that there are those who will be vexed by such talk because it may reflect on their interests. I say, however, that our duty is to contribute, each in his own way, to fulfilling our needs at this crucial stage so as to weather our current crisis.

In conclusion, I would like to mention that this presentation does not include everything that can be done. But I wanted to explain that solutions do exist and that the state does have the capabilities to fulfill its duty to protect the citizenry against exploitation and to alleviate their daily suffering to which they want a solution.

If this is the duty of the government, the people must accept all necessary measures the state adopts. I applaud the decision to stop the importation of dried fruits for Ramadan and we must all chip in to cut consumption and not complain about measures the state had to adopt.

In times of crisis each of us must bear his share of necessary burdens and sacrifices. I say again that the great majority of the people accepts and welcomes such action, provided that serious efforts are made in the right direction in an efficient way designed to serve the people's interests.

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POLICE RIOT LINKED TO ECONOMIC, POLITICAL SITUATION

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 15 Mar 86 p 15

[Article by Lufti al-Khuli: "Democratic Security, Social Security...and Central Security!"]

[Text] Just as the High Dam has saved Egypt from the waves of drought and famine that seized Africa in the early eighties, democracy has saved it from a Central Security rebellion that tried, through destruction, vandalism, and ignorance, to shake its existence.

Both these things, the High Dam and democracy, are the most important and magnificent accomplishments the Egyptian people have realized through great sacrifices and hard struggle over time, backwardness, tyranny, exploitation, and colonialism.

Hence, defense and furtherance of democracy, like the protection and development of the High Dam, becomes an urgent national task of the highest priority.

And if democracy and the High Dam, like all other human innovations, have side effects and negative aspects, these effects and negativisms, however, have not affected their creative vitality in organizing and enlightening our society, regulating its movement, and developing its agricultural and industrial resources for the benefit of everyone without exception, regardless of political, intellectual, or social status.

Can all the bad side effects of the High Dam that have been cited so far, such as the loss of silt and limited seepage in some agricultural land, be compared to the actual contribution it has made in saving the country from drowing during the Nile's innundation and the long harsh years of famine? Moreover, these negative aspects can ultimately be handled and brought under control through modern science and the completion of the High Dam projects by building small dams along the Nile and a drainage canal network.

By the same token, we wonder if certain negative aspects of democratic practice can be compared to the collective public awareness democracy has been able to crystallize, thus helping the people at an extremely sensitive and dangerous moment in history to be incorporated into one force in the face

of rebellion. For notwithstanding that the rebels are at the bottom of the social ladder in Egypt and have legitimate administrative and social demands, democratic practice armed the people, at that moment, with criteria that helped them make a fine distinction between sympathy for the legitimate demands of an oppressed group and denunciation and rejection of a destructive revolt as a means of expressing such demands in a way that paralyzes the entire socio-political entity, plunging it into bloody anarchy that invariably breeds revolutionaries and tyrants.

The fact is that the democratic system is not free of excesses and provocation in one degree or another, especially when the ruling party robs the democratic practice of its true multilateral content and plays the role of an authoritarian political organization, mixing between its organizational nature and the nature of the state and its agencies, and dealing with opposition parties as though they were discarded fondlings or mere ornaments.

Furthermore, excesses and provocation emanates from the attempt to cram the opposition into a small limited margin of movement and to impose restrictions on its formation, thus rendering the multilateral system too small to make room for all masses interested in political action, on the one hand, and, on the other, pushes those forces who are deprived of forming their own parties, into flocking around existing parties that have escaped the clauses of the so-called "democracy-consolidation laws" so as to gain, in the practical sense, the right of expression and movement, albeit different from and sometines incompatible with these parties' political and intellectual lines. Meanwhile, the existing parties are forces to accept this abnormal situation at the expense of organizational and political harmony in the face of various practical requirements, including partisan rivalry in the public arena.

Thus, we find ourselves before distorted formations of democratic multilateralism which is the main source of vacillation and instability and perpetuation of the socio-political line of each party in its relations and positions toward other parties, society, and government. This situation always creates disconcerting complications in the democratic practice in excesses by some and provocation by others.

Perhaps one striking irony is that distortion in the democratic multilateral system in our country has creeped in through the so-called "political tailoring process," created by the authoritarian rule and the parasitical groups that have linked themselves to it to fit it and then through the use of various suppressive agencies led by Central Security at a time when everyone--the regime, the government, and the opposition--is convinced that the most significant and serious outcome of the Central Security revolt is that the people, with their sweeping masses, have proven their constructive ability to use the measure of multilateral democracy they have attained wisely for the general benefit of Egyptian nationalism with its various orientations. This intelligent use of democracy is what has allowed the president to exercise his responsibilities against counter pressures and advice in a democratic and accessible political fashion. Rather than turning to emergency laws, as was customary, he upheld ordinary laws and natural justice, refusing to open prisons and detention camps, even as a precaution, to herd into them the

opposition forces, and did not try to anticipate judicial investigations and to deal out ready-made accusations right and left, emphasizing at the same time the objective truth of social injustice against Central Security personnel within the framework of the general objective reality of the everyday sufferings of the masses.

This is the great secret of democracy which has taught everyone, from the president to the smallest citizen, honesty, clarity of vision and courage in exercising responsibility.

In light of these momentous events and learned lessons, herein lies the utmost importance of the organic link between the question of emphasizing democratic practice and of guaranteeing social justice, something that presents everyone, through the inevitable emergence of a national understanding in these delicate circumstances, with specific political, economic and social tasks all flowing into the stream of purging democracy of distortion and establishing a minimum human level of social justice in the country.

We believe that the main key for dealing with the democratic issue is to seek to guarantee the broadest possible participation by the masses through their parties and institutions. In this domain, we draw attention to four points:

First point: Amendment of the parties' law whereby all political forces and currents will have the opportunity, without administrative restrictions and impossible conditions, to become legitimate parties and to come out into the open in the shade of a commitment to uphold the constitution.

Second point: Putting a stop to the intermeshing which has reached the melting point in some instances between ruling party organizations and government agencies so that the government may remain, in reality, and in the minds of the masses, a public establishment rather than a private project for a specific social group to the exclusion of others which loses no time in alienating itself from the government and the regime, and every state official may be held accountable for his actions in accordance with general rules and regulations.

Third point: Organization of exchange of information about important issues and problems on a rotational basis between the regime and the opposition parties on the premise that the regime, in accordance with constitutional legitimacy, is not limited to the government and its party alone, but extends equally to include the opposition parties as well.

Such an organizational exchange of information creates a healthy atmosphere for democratic practice, curbs tendencies toward excesses and provocation, and allows opposition parties to adopt their positions on a responsible and objective basis.

Fourth point: Amendment of the electoral system with regard to local councils and the People's Assembly, a system unparalleled in any democratic country at any time, which is based on elections by absolute party slates (local elections) and on conditional proportional party slates (People's Assembly elections),

either by reinstituting the system of individual districts or through unconditional proportional slates.

A monopoly by one party, regardless of its strength, of local councils and the People's Assembly in the absence of representation for other parties on the basis of the weight they carry with the people afflicts the monopolizing parties with flabbiness, bureaucracy, corruption, and isolation from the masses and deprives the people of the essence of the so-called democratic game, which is to test the parties' policies and positions for the sake of comparison between them.

As for the main key for dealing with the issue of guaranteeing social justice, it is represented in the fact established by the events that police security, be it in a capitalist or a socialist system, is not the main factor in protecting stability, the regime and its institutions, and public and private money. If voluntary mass security is lacking due to the absence of social justice, and it is the general feeling that fulfillment of duties and responsibilities is rewarded by a fair share of the gross national product, that can provide a decent life at best.

In this domain, we will also restrict ourselves to four points only:

First point: Evolving of the developmental planning concept from the mere gathering of investment projects that are solely concerned with the technological-economic dimension into a universal socio-economic development program to achieve economic growth with an equitable distribution of the gross national product.

Second point: Adoption of a strict general policy of austerity to face the economic crisis with its various local, Arab and international aspects, apportioning the main burdens of austerity to the wealthy.

Third point: Total or gradual discontinuance of tax and customs exemptions granted in the Hatim al-Ta'i fashion to foreign companies. These exemptions deprive the state of revenues Egyptian economists estimate at $4 to $5 billion a year, keeping in mind that these companies, under their countries's laws, which do not allow double taxation, are forces to pay much higher rate of tax in their country so long as they are exempt from taxation in Egypt. It is as though we are giving up our rights, despite our poverty, in order to subsidize the American, European, and Japanese treasuries.

Fourth point: Drawing up a detailed and well-defined policy that strikes a balance between wages and prices whereby social groups in their various professional and productive positions can acquaint themselves with the size and nature of the problems and burdens afflicting the national economy and with the truth about available revenues and spending patterns. These groups can then exercise voluntary discipline in putting forth their economic demands.

In short, we can sum up by saying that Egypt's security and progress, at present and in the future, basically depends on support for democracy and how

it relates to social justice guarantees. For it is through the interaction of democratic security with social security that the peaceful path to development and change can be firmly established instead of the path of bloody violence and anarchic revolt. This, to a large extent, depends on how well productive national capitalism understands the nature of its role and how deeply it has grasped the lessons of the insurrection.

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MIDDLE CLASS URGED TO PARTICIPATE IN AUSTERITY PROGRAM

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 18 Mar 86 pp 1, 11

[Article by 'Adil Husayn]

[Text] President Mubarak has **reiterated** to members of his government that he wishes the assignments he commissioned them to perform some 6 months ago be completed, holding the nation witness to the fact that he finds the government very tardy in announcing measures taken. Dr 'Ali Lutfi has talked to AL-AHRAM and admitted that no serious action has yet taken place.

But what are the assignments to be realized? Most of them are of an economic nature. We, on our part, insist on the fact that our crisis is neither fundamentally nor substantially economic and that we are unlikely to be rid of the quandary we are in if our reliance on the computations of economists remains uppermost. Have our resources become too constricted? Yes, but perhaps more serious than that is the fact that over the past few years we have grown increasingly avid for our share of what the world has to offer, rather than aspiring to what the Almighty has in store for us in the other world. How can we get out of this dilemma if we do not change our ways? Revenues are the source of expenditures for our requests. Should revenues decline our capacity to obtain our requirements must, of necessity, drop. This is a fact that no economist or magician can alter. What needs to be changed is ourselves (as a society, individuals and groups) and without such a difficult change in attitude and inclination we will never be able to maintain our patience, endurance, and solidarity.

We must put an end to the various forms of ill-gotten gain and repulse the viciousness of those among us rolling in luxury (all of which is tantamount to an arduous social holy war). It is also essential that there be a commonly held creed reminding us of the Hereafter, for it is such belief that taught us and our fathers and forefathers the value of sacrifice, even martyrdom.

Even while maintaining all these reservations about the prevalence of an economic approach to our problems, we do insist that our attitude be integral when we consider economic matters. Both positions reverse the action taken by the authorities. It came as no surprise, therefore, that in response to the nation's expressed desire for comprehensive change (economic and otherwise) the government enacted one single (albeit gravely serious) decree

throwing wide open to the private sector the opportunities of importing food commodities. We do not think that this decree alone will be sufficient (or appropriate) to deal with all the interrelated problems involved, but it will certainly be enough to set in motion wave upon wave of increasing prices, the burden of which will fall squarely on the shoulders of the laboring masses and the middle classes.

The new importation system, it is said, is based on the fact that the foreign currency resources accruing to the Central Bank have been substantially reduced owing to the sharp decline in export prices for our oil. The Central Bank currency pool used to cover the Ministry of Supply's foreign exchange quota on which public sector external trading companies drew for their imports. Now we are told that the quota having decreased, importation of an increasing portion of our food supplies requires that arrangements be made for alternative resources of foreign exchange, i.e., by competing for the savings of workers in Arab countries and purchasing them at a higher price.

This is partly true, partly false, and harmful. While it is true that there is now a growing need to rely on the savings of workers in Arab countries in order to finance our food requirements, why should the operation be left exclusively to the private sector?

Under any circumstances financing importation by means of the savings of workers abroad will increase consumer prices, since import costs in that case will be calculated on the basis of 180 piasters a dollar, while the cost when relying on the Central Bank currency pool was computed at about 70 piasters a dollar.

Increased consumer prices for imported food supplies are therefore unavoidable, but it goes without saying that participation by public sector companies and their competing with private business sector in utilizing Egyptian savings will enable the government to control the rate of price increases. It would also be able to spread the burden of price hikes rationally and equitably among the various categories of society so that the better off can bear a larger share of the burden. In point of fact the government's economic (and political) role is decisive in maintaining a social balance (which Islamic economic theory specifically enjoins). If left to their own devices, importers will in most cases pursue their own individual interests, rarely paying the least attention to any other considerations.

We are particularly concerned in this regard over the ruse of "gradualism," such as seeing to it when executing the decree that certain classes are gradually enabled to avoid the impact of increased prices with a view to more easily prejudicing other groups. We are especially concerned that adverse effects will be concentrated in numerous middle classes including businessmen, professionals, civil servants, skilled workers, and not a small number of farmers. It is true that certain signs of extravagance in spending and self-indulgence appear to be spreading among those classes, but we cannot combat the offshoots of luxury and leave the original high income earnings groups untouched. If that should happen and the middle class finds itself reduced to the lowest levels while the wealthy remain unaffected, that would

be the fastest route to an explosion. Only this time, bearing in mind the middle class and the part it will play, it will be a very cognizant and organized explosion. Let this be a warning.

From a purely economic point of view, there must be austerity. The mid-level classes must participate in the campaign to cut back on consumption. The call for rationalization of spending cannot be directed solely to the government as all social categories must play a part. We wonder how much is spent each year on weddings and private celebrations in the major hotels and clubs? Why don't Egyptians finance tourism in their country (sometimes and partly in foreign currency)? That would be a thousand times better than waiting for groups of foreign tourists. It would be far better vis-a-vis the volume of foreign currency flowing into the Egyptian economy. It would be better since foreign tourism pollutes our cultural environment and values, and in the third place, Western tourism is not merely groups of individuals on the move, it is a well-run industry controlled by international corporations. These corporations are specifically trying to use tourism as a means of stimulating relations between Egypt and Israel, God forbid!

These are merely examples. What we want to say is that the call for austerity and rationalized spending is all embracing. The middle class can offer much and must accept and act, but subject to economic regulations and policies being formulated to ensure equitable distribution, sacrifice, and burden.

Unfortunately, nothing of this is indicated in Minister of Supply Decree Number 121. We have already stated that this is a single decree enacted by the government. There remains for us at the end of this column to take a good look at matters. This, we say, is only one decree so far, but it will be followed by others in the same vein and so-called increases in salaries and wages will not serve any useful purpose since prices will rise at a faster rate.

Now hear this: Society and its economy are in serious trouble, but this is not the way out. Do remember at least that the government has no security force these days.

In any case we shall be meeting again next week, God willing. Beware the IMF "recommendations"! Beware the IMF "recommendations"!

13291/12947
CSO: 4504/260

BACKGROUND ON CABINET CHANGES GIVEN

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 31 Mar 86 p 32

[Article: "Libya: a Step of Change Over a Constant Line"]

[Text] At a time when American aircraft carriers are returning to their provocative maneuvers facing the Gulf of Surt, and when Colonel al-Qadhdhafi has threatened to use SAM-5 and SAM-7 missiles to hit American planes and ships if they cross the 32.5 degree latitude, which the Jamahiriyah considers to be the border of its territorial waters, a new cabinet change has been announced in Tripoli following the completion of the activities of the General Conference of the People's Committees, which is the highest legislative and executive authority in the country.

The formation of the General People's Committee (i.e., the ministry) took place to reflect the new tendencies of the Libyan leadership. These tendencies do not constitute a change in the line being followed; rather, they emphasize certain principal Libyan interests during the current period.

Perhaps the best illustration of the new tendency is provided by the two main changes in the new government relating to the posts of secretary of the General People's Committee (i.e. prime minister) and foreign secretary. Jadallah 'Azzuz al-Talhi returned to the post of prime minister, replacing Muhammad al-Zarruq Rajab. As is well known, al-Talhi was prime minister during the period between 1979 and 1984 that saw the birth of the Arab Steadfastness Front in the wake of the signing of the Camp David accords. In addition to the Jamahiriyah, the front included Syria, Algeria, the Democratic [Republic of] Yemen, and the PLO. The front broke up after the Israeli attack on Lebanon in June 1982, the departure of the [Palestinian] resistance from Lebanon, and the differences that arose between more than one pair of members in the front. Al-Talhi, however, maintained his good relations with these members, and this will facilitate his new role.

The second conspicuous change is that Hasan Kamal al-Mansur has become foreign secretary, in place of 'Ali 'Abd-al-Salam al-Turayki. Contrary to all the rumors circulated by western sources of information, al-Turayki did not leave the cabinet for any political reason, but rather for personal reasons of health. He has been under treatment in Switzeland for several

weeks because of complications from diabetes. The period that al-Turayki spent at the head of Libyan diplomacy was distinguished by confrontation with the United States over a large number of issues, confrontation with France over events in Chad, and signing of the Arab-African Union treaty with Morocco in the summer of 1984.

As for Hasan Kamal al-Mansur, al-Turayki's successor as head of the Libyan foreign ministry, he epitomizes in his person the possible new tendencies of Libyan policy. As is well known, the new foreign secretary's original name was Hasan Kamal al-Maqhur ["the vanquished"]. At the beginning of 1985, Col al-Qadhadhafi asked him to change his name to Hasan Kamal al-Mansur ["the victorious"], because "in the Libyan revolution there is nobody who is vanquished; all are victorious." Al-Mansur studied law in Cairo and became a legal consultant in the oil industry in 1970. He was his country's representative to the Worl Court of Justice in the Hague, then ambassador to the United Nations (until 1976), to France (1976-78), and to China (1978-81). He was appointed secretary for petroleum affairs between 1982 and 1984, and served in this capacity as head of OPEC from late in 1983 to the end of 1984. Immediately afterwards, he was appointed general secretary of the Arab-African Union ratified in the Moroccan city of Oujda between King Hassan II of Morocco and Col al-Qadhadhafi on 13 August of the same year.

Aside from al-Talhi's return to the prime ministership and al-Mansur's appointment as foreign secretary, the third feature of the cabinet change in Tripoli is a reduction in the number of ministries (secretariats) from 20 to 11, thus making the ministry one of action and more capable of movement than the preceding ministry, which was formed last year on 7 May 1985.

One can say that three points sum up the new tendencies in Libyan policy: On the international front, there is a facing up to the American challenge by closing Arab ranks and by putting the country on the alert to confront any possible military or political developments, including developments of the situation in Chad. On the economic front, there is a facing up to the sharp drop in oil prices. There is no doubt that al-Mansur's experience in this field will be useful, especially since the intention is to build up a cohesive oil block with members from producing countries inside or outside of OPEC to confront the rapid decline in the price of "black gold." The nucleus of this front was in fact formed during meetings held in Algiers and Tripoli during the last few weeks. In the first phase, these meetings included Algeria, Libya, and Iran, countries united by a single position on oil. In the second phase, they included Algeria, Libya, Nigeria, and Gabon and resulted in the foundation of the Association of African Fuel-producing States.

On the Arab front, finally, there is no doubt that the Jamahiriyah will continue to strengthen its relations at once with Algeria and with Morocco. Contacts with Algeria occur almost daily--a few days ago, a high-level Libyan military delegation visited the country. Relations with Rabat are becoming more solid--a few days ago, the capitals of the two countries were, with great celebration, declared to be "twins." Relations with other Arab states are moving in the direction of improvement, thus making the Jamahiriyah a candidate to play a role in the continuing mediation effort to solve more than one Arab crisis, especially in the Arab West.

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CSO: 4504/254

POLL TAKES VIEWS OF NABLUS INHABITANTS ON ADMINISTRATION

Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI in Arabic 25 Jan 86

[Article by Farras Hamdi al-Qisas: "Conditions in the West Bank Municipalities: How Do the Inhabitants View the Elected Municipal Councils?"]

[Text] This research work deals with the conditions of some municipalities on the West Bank whose mayors have been removed from their positions and whose elected councils' powers have been frozen since March 1982 because of their failure to recognize the civil administration and cooperate and due to the authorities' initiative of appointing Israeli officers to administer the affairs of the municipalities, which has led to an aversion on the part of the agencies in some municipalities to work and to their failure to carry on wholly or in part in other municipalities.

This research work contains a comparison between conditions of the municipality in the period before 1982, when they were administered by an elected council, and the following period, between 1982 and 1985. The city of Nabulus was considered a model for what has gone on in the other areas since it is the greatest town on the West Bank and because it was not possible to fill out research forms in various towns. Perhaps the importance of this research does not lie in the comparison between the two administrations only but also extends to a knowledge of the dimensions of the municipalities' role which are new since the stipulations of the Jordanian law on municipalities. This law, Number 29 for 1955, defines municipalities as local organizations by virtue of Article 1/3, and Article 41 defines their powers, various functions and other services they supervise.

These dimensions have been embodied in the vacumm which was produced following the occupation in the absence of national authorities and expansion of the responsibilities of the municipalities (in their character as legitimate organizations) in helping to reduce the suffering of citizens in various areas and their participation in national issues, on grounds that they are elected by the inhabitants and express their pains and ambitions.

The premise of the research is founded on three bases:

1. The citizens' confidence in elected municipal councils is greater.

2. The political dimension of the role of the municipalities has come into being, contrary to the stipulation made by the Jordanian law.

3. The services offered by the elected councils are better than others.

In order to arrive at these premises, it appeared that the method of interviewing people concerned with the matter and the overseers of municipality affairs was insufficient. It was necessary to carry out a broader poll representing the distribution of 100 forms among various sectors of citizens in the city, as follows:

A. Landowners and businessmen -- 10 forms, that is, 10 percent.

B. Merchants and shopkeepers -- 30 forms, that is, 30 percent.

C. Professionals in various specializations -- 30 forms, that is, 30 percent.

D. University students -- 10 forms, that is, 10 percent.

E. Workers -- 20 forms, that is, 20 percent.

In apportioning these ratios, consideration was given to including most sectors which generally take part in municipal council elections, in accordance with the following bases:

1. The participation of women in this poll.

2. Regarding the participants, attention was given that they should be greater than 18 in age.

3. Merchants, shopkeepers, professionals and workers constitute the base and the broadest sector for learning about the municipality and its various services and problems.

It is well known that the amendments which have been made to the abovementioned law on municipalities since 1976 have guaranteed these groups the right to be elected, whether or not they are taxpayers, contrary to what the Jordanian law on elections stipulates.

Numerous problems and many difficulties stood in the way of this research, perhaps the most important of which was a group of citizens' aversion to filling out the questionnaire forms. This in my opinion can be attributed to the following reasons:

1. The ordinary citizens' lack of familiarity with participating in polls, questionnaires and referenda and their fear of expressing their views in writing on public issues, although the questionnaire does not ask for the recording of names.

2. Some people's belief that the questionnaire's goal is to serve a specific group and draw citizens into responding in a specific direction.

3. Some people's ignorance of the role the researchers from al-Najah National University can play in dealing with the issues of the local society.

4. The performance of this research at a critical time, prior to the handover of municipality positions to the chamber of commerce and the rumors and gossip surrounding it, which have dominated public opinion in the city, especially the group of merchants.

It was necessary to exert unremitting efforts to convince the participants of the importance of the research and to convince them that there was no relationship between the appointed Israeli administration (that of 1982-1985) and the chamber of commerce the authorities appointed as a municipal council to administer the affairs of the municipality.

In addition, one cannot consider that this research work includes all the municipality's issues and conditions or expresses the views of the citizens in a truthful manner, because emotions, in the treatment of such issues, sometimes override sound logic. In addition, the answers in many cases have been founded on a basis of individual dealings and not on a basis of public interest.

Analysis of the Answers

This research work was confined to the asking of 10 questions which were listed in the questionnaire form, and the answers were as follows:

First question:

Most municipalities in the bank and the strip have gone through two experiences with councils (elected and appointed) since 1967. Do you believe the elected councils are better?

The citizens answered this question as follows:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	8	1	1
B. Merchants	30	--	--
C. Professionals	29	1	--
D. Students	10	--	--
E. Workers	19	--	--
Total	96	2	2

It is noted that there is near-unanimity (96 percent) on the part of the various groups of citizens in giving preference to elected councils, in consideration of democratic principles and usage and the citizen's right to elect his representatives to the local authorities. One should bear in mind

that the abovementioned Jordanian law on municipalities asserts that municipal councils must be elected except in overriding situations when the councils do not perform their duties, at which point it is permissible to appoint a committee for a specific period of no more than a year.

The municipal councils are local organizations whose essence is:

A. Political.

B. Political and service-oriented.

C. Service-oriented.

The following answer showed that the municipalities are political in essence by a ratio of just 4 percent:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	3	7	--
B. Merchants	--	30	--
C. Professionals	1	27	2
D. Students	--	10	--
E. Workers	--	20	--
Total	4	9	2

The following answers considered the essence to be political and service-oriented in combination by a ratio of 63 percent:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	5	5	--
B. Merchants	13	15	2
C. Professionals	22	6	2
D. Students	10	--	--
E. Workers	13	7	--
Total	63	33	4

The essence in the following answer was confined to services, by a ratio of 30 percent:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	3	7	--
B. Merchants	14	14	2
C. Professionals	6	22	2
D. Students	--	10	--
E. Workers	7	13	--
Total	30	66	4

From an analysis of these answers, it is clear that the overwhelming majority of citizens do not agree that the municipalities should be only political in essence (section A) or that their functions should be confined to public services (section C). Rather, they consider that politics and services should be combined. The reason for that may be clear, in the absence of a national authority since the occupation and the great void it has created in the people's elected institutions, which has prompted the citizens to turn toward the municipal councils to fill this void, on grounds that they represent them truthfully, especially since the holding of general elections under the occupation is not possible.

The third question:

The municipal services offered by the Nabulus municipal administration appointed in 1982 are in general better than they had been before.

The citizens responded to this question in the following manner:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	--	10	--
B. Merchants	6	24	--
C. Professionals	1	29	--
D. Students	--	10	--
E. Workers	--	20	--
Total	7	93	--

The majority of the citizens (by a ratio of 93 percent) consider that the general services the municipality offered before 1982 were much better than they were during the appointed Israeli administration. This is normal and is conspicuous on the part of all the groups of citizens, who noted the appointed administration's failure to perform services, since the citizens' complaints of a lack of water and electric resources and lack of attention to roads, health and sanitation were widespread.

In reality, the city of Nabulus fell back many years in the course of this period because of the backwardness it suffered from as a result of neglect by the appointed authorities.

The fourth question:

The financial burden imposed on the citizens of Nabulus in the form of electricity and water tariffs and permits for buildings, occupations and industries has increased in an unreasonable manner since 1982.

All citizens (by a ratio of 97 percent) agreed that great increases had occurred in the past 3 years in various municipality tariffs, as indicated above:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	10	--	--
B. Merchants	27	3	--
C. Professionals	30	--	--
D. Students	10	--	--
E. Workers	20	--	--
Total	97	3	--

There are many examples which confirm this fact. For example, the price of a unit of electric power (a kilowatt hour) rose from 1.8 shekels in March 1982 to 264 shekels at present. The price of a cubic meter of water rose from 8 shekels to 780 shekels at present. This is apparent from the electricity and water department bills in the two periods.

This also applies to tariffs for building permits and occupation and industry permits, the value of materials and other accessories the municipality sells and other services it is not possible to enumerate.

The fifth question:

The method of collection the appointed municipality followed by issuing checks on the postal bank is better than the previous method of collection.

It is apparent from the following answers that a large proportion (72 percent) does not agree with this view and considers that the previous arrangement of issuing bills to water and electric service users was better than the method of issuing checks to the postal department.

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	3	4	3
B. Merchants	4	19	7
C. Professionals	2	27	1
D. Students	2	5	3
E. Workers	1	17	2
Total	12	72	16

The previous collection method gives consideration to the conditions of citizens who are unable to pay tariffs, since the collector observes the financial circumstances of the user and makes the payment method easy for him, while the authorities specify the date of payment of the check and impose high fines and numerous restrictions as a result of delays in payment.

In another area, collection by the municipality in the abovementioned manner retains the value of the sums in dinars, while the actual value of the amounts deposited in the postal bank in Israeli currency is reduced because of its constant decline.

This may be what recently prompted the appointed municipal council to reinstate the previous collection method as of 1 January 1986.

It is observed from the table shown above that 16 percent of the users had no opinion, that is, that they were not concerned with this subject.

The sixth question:

Treatment by the appointed municipality agency was better than that of the previous agency.

Ninety percent of the citizens asserted that treatment by the system of appointed employees has been bad, as is apparent from the following table:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	--	10	--
B. Merchants	5	22	3
C. Professionals	--	29	1
D. Students	--	9	1
E. Workers	--	20	--
Total	5	90	5

From an examination of this subject, it is clear that there are many reasons for this, most important of which are:

1. The absence of competent persons in the appointed system because of qualified citizens' aversion to working with this department, at a time when the previous agency contained 24 professionals of various specializations and 84 university graduates.

2. The coercion of a number of former employees to work in the municipality for circumstances peculiar to themselves.

3. The suspension of most employees without continuity of employment at low salaries and wages because of their urgent need for work.

4. A lack of knowledge on the part of the system concerned with municipality affairs and various municipality issues; meanwhile, the former system contained experts in various affairs, since some of them had performed service extending 40 years in the past, and a number of them had been sent by former councils on fellowships and training courses abroad.

The seventh question:

The connection of the city of Nabulus to the Israeli national electric grid has been in the interests of the city.

The citizens' response to that was one of absolute rejection, by a ratio of 96 percent, while a single merchant supported it and three people declined to answer, as is shown in the table below.

On examining this subject, it is apparent that the refusal to connect the city of Nabulus to the national grid is not [sic] in the interests of the city, for the following reasons:

1. The citizens' confidence in the municipal electric project, which is their property and which they must defend and not neglect.

2. The failure to rely on any Israeli source of power, out of fear that electricity will be cut off from the city in critical circumstances.

3. Limiting the amount that is permitted in supplying the city in a manner that does not permit its development, especially in the industrial sector.

4. Eliminating the Nabulus electricity project on grounds that it produces power, is a great source of income and transmits it to the distribution and collection center on behalf of the Israeli national company.

6 [sic]. The numerous complaints about the large number of blackouts covering long periods by the regional company and the low level of the electric current supplying the city, which has led to the burning out of dozens of home appliances in various areas of the city connected to the national grid.

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	--	10	--
B. Merchants	1	28	1
C. Professionals	1	28	1
D. Students	--	10	--
E. Workers	--	20	--
Total	2	96	2

The eighth question:

Are you in favor of linking the sources of water in the city of Nabulus to the regional water system (Makorot)?

The answers of the majority were of rejection, as is shown below:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	--	10	--
B. Merchants	1	29	--
C. Professionals	--	29	1
D. Students	--	10	--
E. Workers	3	17	--
Total	4	95	1

Perhaps the most important reason which led to the rejection of the linkup between the city's sources and the Makorot company system is the fear that the city's source of water will be at the mercy of this company, to dispose of in a manner which is compatible with its own interests. One should bear in mind that in the past 10 years the competent authorities have not allowed the Nabulus municipality to drill more than one well (al-Fari'ah) while wells are being constantly drilled for the settlements at great depths which affect the wells of the citizens of the bank, not to mention limiting production of these wells so that they will not affect Israeli water sources.

The ninth question:

Do you believe that building violations and other acts of trespass have doubled in the past three years?

The majority of the citizens affirmed this point by a ratio of 81 percent, as follows:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Landowners and businessmen	10	--	--
B. Merchants	26	3	1
C. Professionals	22	5	3
D. Students	5	1	4
E. Workers	18	--	2
Total	81	9	10

Specialists also reaffirmed this view after they had visited the municipality of Nabulus. There are for example eight building violations on a single street (on the west side of Rafidiya Street) and numerous, uncounted excesses and violations in various areas. That can be attributed to the appointed administration's failure to be careful about putting things in their proper order for various considerations.

The tenth question:

Would you prefer that the municipal council be:

A. Elected in full?

B. Half-elected and the other half appointed?

C. Appointed in full?

The citizens' answers were as follows:

Group	Yes	No	Do Not Know
A. Elected in full	90	9	1
B. Half elected and the other half appointed	4	95	1
C. Appointed in full	5	93	2

This categorically shows the citizens' desire to have the members of their municipal councils be elected by them, in embodiment of this democratic right which every citizen demands.

Conclusion

Through this poll, which involved a limited number of them, the citizens expressed their legitimate right to elect their municipal councils and their rejection of the appointed bodies and administrations. This was not in violation of actuality; rather, there were convincing motives and reasons for this, the most important of which we raised on asking these questions.

It was also apparent that the premises of the research were to some extent reasonable and accepted by a large proportion of the citizens, since it became apparent that they expressed their views and convictions, as showed by the conclusions of the questionnaire.

In conclusion, one can say that the citizens expressed their desire for participation by municipality councils in local and domestic issues, whether they be social, political or economic, in the current circumstances of the occupation, in addition to the responsibilities cast upon their shoulders in normal conditions on the basis of the stipulations of the law on municipalities. This is in conjunction with their rejection of the appointed municipality boards, which cannot respond to their aspirations through their dealings with the competent authorities.

Profession	Age			Sex		First Question		
	18-25	26-40	41 and Above	Male	Female	Yes	No	Do Not Know
Landowners and businessmen	--	--	--	--	--	8	1	1
Merchants	--	--	--	--	--	30	--	--
Professionals	--	--	--	--	--	29	1	--
Students	--	--	--	--	--	10	--	--
Workers	--	--	--	--	--	19	--	1
Total	--	--	--	--	--	96	2	2

	Third Question			Fourth Question			Fifth Question		
	Yes	No	Do Not Know	Yes	No	Do Not Know	Yes	No	Do Not Know
Landowners and businessmen	--	10	--	10	--	--	3	4	3
Merchants	6	24	--	27	3	--	4	19	7
Professionals	1	29	--	30	--	--	2	27	1
Students	--	10	--	10	--	--	2	5	3
Workers	--	20	--	20	--	--	1	17	2
Total	7	93	--	97	3	--	12	72	16

	Ninth Question			Tenth Question								
				A			B			C		
	Yes	No	Do Not Know	Yes	No	Do Not Know	Yes	No	Do Not Know	Yes	No	
Landowners and businessmen	10	--	--	8	1	1	--	9	1	1	8	
Merchants	26	3	1	25	5	--	2	28	--	3	27	
Professionals	22	5	3	28	2	0	1	29	0	1	28	
Students	5	1	4	9	1	--	1	9	--	--	10	
Workers	8	--	2	20	--	--	--	20	--	--	20	
Total	81	9	10	90	9	1	4	95	1	5	93	

[Facing previous page]

Profession	Second Question											
	A				B				C			
	Yes	No	Do Not Know		Yes	No	Do Not Know		Yes	No	Do Not Know	
Landowners and businessmen	3	7	--		5	5	--		3	7	--	
Merchants	--	30	--		13	15	2		14	14	2	
Professionals	1	27	2		22	6	2		6	22	2	
Students	--	10	--		10	--	--		--	10	--	
Workers	--	20	--		13	7	--		7	13	--	
Total	4	94	2		63	33	4		29	66	4	
	Sixth Question				Seventh Question				Eighth Question			
	Yes	No	Do Not Know		Yes	No	Do Not Know		Yes	No	Do Not Know	
Landowners and businessmen	--	10	--		--	10	--		--	10	--	
Merchants	5	22	3		1	28	1		1	29	--	
Professionals	--	29	1		--	28	2		--	29	1	
Students	--	9	1		--	10	--		--	10	--	
Workers	--	20	--		--	20	--		3	17	--	
Total	5	90	5		1	96	3		4	95	1	

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POWER OF THE ORTHODOX PRESS DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv KOTERET RASHIT in Hebrew No 175, 9 Apr 86 pp 26-29

[Text] The inaugural issue of a new ultra orthodox Friday weekly, called SHAVU'A TOV, was published a little over 1 month ago. The publication is intended to be the Chief Rabbinate's response to the 3 year successful history of the ultra orthodox weekly 'EREV SHABAT. But SHAVU'A TOV suffered a heavy blow, possibly a fatal one, even before it was issued. The inaugural issue was distributed to rabbis and they shuddered. Among others there was a color report titled "Shimshon -- A Jewish Rambo." The report opened as follows: "The Shimshon Institute, Jerusalem, gives you muscles. Me'ir Yolovitz, the boss, 30 years plus, a skull-cap wearing family man who sells a dream of power. A strong Jew instead of the Ziys (sweet) Jew. What he has is power, sweat, champions on the wall, masculine fraternity, love of God. If you were to worship God spiritually, Me'ir will see to it that you do it with your body. Yeshivas of higher education, the seder, Rafael Halperin. Now Me'ir Yolovitz and his machines will give you energy that will make you flow with belief. A local power institute. American strength. 40 new sheqels. Avishay Tzomber was there. Me'ir Rabinovitz investigated. Just a minute, there is also a story for women. " No, that does not suit us," giggled the rabbis and the young orthodox students who read the paper. In the section dealing with criticism of the press, there were some spicy stories about Dan Ben-Amotz's daughter, as she appeared in MA'ARIV's magazine GEVER LA'INYAN. There were also some advertisements that were quoted from other papers. The yeshiva students and the rabbis, who are experts at reading the small print, were astonished to find the following advertisement: "Naturalist, bi-sexual, 38, is interested in a broad-minded lonely male or female." "Oh no," said the rabbis and suspended the publication of SHAVU'A TOV's indefinitely. Avishay Tzomber, one of the editors, promises that it will be published eventually. He says that there is a vacuum between 'EREV SHABAT and YEDI'OT AHARONOT that he intends to fill.

The man behind SHAVU'A TOV and its chief editor is Efrayim Shrayber, 23, a student at Merkaz-HaRav Yeshiva. He changed his name to Sofer in time to coincide with the publication of the first issue. He is a stocky man who wears a black skull-cap. He thus is different from his fellow students who wear knitted skull-caps. He did not resolve the mystery regarding his military service. His journalistic career started with Rabbi Shakh's orthodox publication YATED NE'EMAN. He and his friends were very concerned about these

publications which are almost completely dominated by the anti-Zionist rabbis. He and his friends believed that Marcus Katz, an Israeli emigrant who deals with arms in South America, would finance their paper. Katz is a secret part owner of MONITIN and HADASHOT. He is close to Zevulun Hamer's faction in MAFDAL.

The ultra orthodox are unique customers for the press. Unlike the non-observers, they do not watch television, at least not officially. Most of them do not subscribe to the secular dailies. They do listen to the radio, but that does not give them the information they are realy after. They really get excited over the printed word, to the point of becoming violent. They are not willing to bring home anything that excites them and that is printed on paper. Any such paper has to take into account not only the needs of its readers, but more than that, the sensitivity of the rabbis. One careless word about a rabbi may cause a boycott of the paper, a boycott which may mean economic doom.

Israel Qatzover, beardless, with a knitted skull-cap, lives in a secular neighborhood in Jerusalem. He was the religious affairs correspondent for Qol-Israel and a SHE'ARIM correspondent, SHA'ARIM being a relatively moderate religious daily. Qatzover's biggest scoop was when he found out that the F-15 planes were arriving in Israel on the Sabbath, in 1976. The news brought about the downfall of Rabin's government and eventually brought Likud to power. Qatzover became Menahem Begin's friend. He is an experienced correspondent, free of ideological fixations, a perfect example of a religious person who succeeded because of secular acumen. He has a friend by the name of Yitzhaq Nahshoni, associated with religious programming for the IDF Radio Station. Mr Nahshoni now wears a black skull-cap with side curls, but otherwise dresses in a secular manner and speaks like any other Israeli. Together they had a dream of a religious weekly, like so many other local papers which appeared in the early eighties. When Danot started publishing its local papers under the name REHOV RASHI, Qatzover and Nahshoni approached them. This is how YOM HASHISHI, a national ultra orthodox publication came to be. It is jointly owned by the editors and Danot. This was the only profitable paper in the network, according to Qatzover. When it collapsed Qatzover and Nahshoni turned to YEDI'OT AHARONOT and MONITIN. There were some legal problems. Eventually the paper's name had to be changed to 'EREV SHABAT (or 'EREV SHABES, as the ultra orthodox refer to it) -- and be published under the auspices of THE JERUSALEM POST. According to one story the rabbis decreed that the secular English daily is kosher, relatively speaking. According to another version the REHOV RASHI network was in debt to THE JERUSALEM POST. The ownership of the religious weekly became part of the deal to wipe out the debt.

Qatzover maintained recently that his paper has a higher circulation than all other religious publications put together. He refused to disclose any figures. Most of the income comes from advertisements. Ethics is not much of an issue for this kind of a paper. Thus, for example, the editors's wives own a public relations firm which works with the paper. There is no clear cut separation between advertisement and editorial material. The paper costs 40 sheqels per issue. Its estimated circulation is 20,000-25,000, rather astonishing. Some people who work for the paper quote even higher figures.

They say that it is also successful in the United States (3,000 copies) and even in Australia.

Rabbi Shakh is purported to have said that when he sees someone returning from morning prayer on Friday with his prayer book and shawl under one arm and 'EREV SHABAT under his other arm, he cries inwardly. 'EREV SHABAT interpreted this as referring to rabbis only. They cannot afford to waste their time reading papers. Everyone else ought to read 'EREV SHABAT.

'EREV SHABAT is the only ultra orthodox magazine which is economically viable. It is also the only one on a rather professional level. This combination has made it into an ultra orthodox representative paper, with extreme nationalistic views, the closest thing in the Israeli press to Me'ir Kahane. It turns out that this is what the ultra orthodox want to read: hatred of secular Jews, hatred of Arabs, and flattery to any rabbi with the potential to threaten the income of the paper. Occasionally it criticizes religious members of the Knesset, but the only rabbis to be attacked are those associated with MAFDAL. The latter, to their chagrin, do not have the courage to call a boycott. The boycotted issued of SHAVU'A TOV tried to respond to 'EREV SHABAT's attack on Rabbi Goren: "Where were your leaders when Rabbi Goren crawled in a mine field to extricate bodies so as to bring them to a proper burial? Where were your leaders when he endangered himself in an outpost on the Canal during the War of Attrition? No, we will no longer be silent when you attack our rabbis and other leaders in your little prayer hall." What is strange is that there really is no real connection between the views expressed in the paper and those of its two astute editors. The author asked other religious journalists about that. They rubbed their fingers together and nodded their heads as if to say: "Money, money."

"Things have not reached that low point when we have to disassociate ourselves from them," says JERUSALEM POST editor Erwin Frankel when he discusses this successful ultra orthodox magazine. "Even if the paper is economically viable, on the balance sheet of the JERUSALEM POST it is insignificant, maybe even a burden."

The only permanent journalists that 'EREV SHABAT employs are Nahshoni and Qatzover. In addition to them there are about 60 occasional contributors, among them religious journalist under assumed names, and reporters, usually yeshiva students, who report by phone by way of moonlighting. This is very similar to the method employed by Arab papers on the West Bank. According to those in the know, the most outspoken and extreme writers are religious journalists from the secular media who vent their feelings in 'EREV SHABAT.

`EREV SHABAT does not publish editorials. According to the editors the viewpoint of the readers is determined by the holy scriptures, not by editorial opinion. The editors note two exceptions. The first occurred during the elections when an editorial called for voting only for religious parties. The other occasion was when they demanded to release those accused of being in the Jewish underground. From time to time they publish a lengthy interview with Rabbi Kahane.

When an important rabbi requests to report, omit, or dictate an item, he is always granted his wish. The paper avoids publishing advertisements where one party attacks another. Before the elections it was decided to not publish any Alignment or Likud advertisements. "We lost $30,000," they said, "but we gained in the long run." The paper is also careful not to publish any advertisement with photographs of women.

The front page captions are meant to reinforce, to the point of absurdity, the ultra orthodox patriotism. This week there was a report of a 500 percent increase in the number of Arabs wishing to convert. The actual number is 11. The front page of the previous edition was decorated with a large stamp saying that the paper was confiscated according to the 1986 racial law.

The split within Agudat Israel gave birth 8 months ago to a new daily, YATED NE'EMAN. The first word is really an acronym meaning "A daily for the knowledge of the scriptures." The paper is funded by Rabbi Shakh's supporters. Rabbis Shakh became tired of the way the Rabbi of Gur and his supporters were running Agudat Israel and its paper, HAMODI'A. YATED NE'EMAN's editors are Ashkenazi.

HAMODI'A was founded 36 years ago at the initiative of the then Agudat Israel leader, (Icha)-Me'ir Levin. The idea was to feed the ultra orthodox public with the correct opinions when it had to face the challenge of a secular state. It was Levin's son who was the paper's editor until 1979. When he died, three editors were appointed, each representing a faction within Agudat Israel. HAMODI'A must be the only paper in the world with three editors and only one full time correspondent -- the one in the Knesset.

Even the night editors, who prepare the news columns for the next day's edition, are picked according to their faction affiliation within Agudat Israel. The paper plays an important role, sometimes a crucial one, in relations among the various factions. Sometimes, when there is a difference of opinion, the decision is passed from the night editors to the major editors. If they cannot resolve the differences, the decision is made by the Rabbi of Gur or Rabbi Shakh. Since the founding of YATED NE'EMAN the Rabbi of Gur has had the upper hand in HAMODI'A.

Most of the material is picked up from ITIM. The editors ensure that the news is slanted to reflect the outlook of the paper. Recently references were made to someone's beautiful wife. The next day the phone did not stop ringing. "This is not proper for us," the readers protested. When there is a news such as: "Passersby accidentally discovered explosives under a bench," the word "accidentally" is replaced by "miraculously."

As in other religious publications, many of HAMODI'A's correspondents use false names. There are yeshiva students who do not consider it proper to write in a paper. It could even hurt their chances for a good marriage. Others say: "Only hidden deeds are the ones which deserve to be blessed." One real practical reason is the fear that the IDF will find out that those exempt from service because they study in yeshivot are really journalists. Still others write for other religious papers as well. Thus, HAMODI'A's military correspondent, A. Pe'er is none other than Israel Qatzover, the 'EREV

SHABAT editor. One of HAMODI'A's editors, Israel Spiegel, who was put in a deep freeze following the publication of YATED NE'EMAN, vents his anger in 'EREV SHABAT in a section called "Hitting Back" which he signs Dov Alon.

HAMODI'A never publishes any reports on rapes. Murders are always blamed on television's bad influence and inadequate secular education. If there is a report on a bad accident happening on the Sabbath it will try and create the impression that the whole thing happened because the parties involved were driving on the Sabbath. Many of the articles deal with religious subjects, warning of desecrating the Sabbath and autopsies. Recently it has dealt a lot with "assimilation meetings" between Jews and Arabs.

Events which cannot be ignored, such as an important victory for the Tel-Aviv soccer team, are mentioned in the section "Day by Day." This is where the readers can find out who won and who lost and why the whole thing has a degenerating effect and why it should be condemned.

YATED NE'EMAN, HAMODI'A's young competitor, is housed in eight spacious room in the stock exchange building in Tel-Aviv. During the dramatic struggle against the construction of Hotel Ganey-Hamat in Tiberias, the Rabbi of Gur reached a compromise agreement with the hotel's management. Rabbi Eli'ezer Shah, leader of the Lita faction within Agudat Israel, was opposed to the compromise and instructed his followers to continue the struggle. HAMODI'A, which had protested the construction all along, ignored Rabbi Shakh. When Rabbi Qanyevsky, who until his death several months ago was considered the foremost theological authority among Lita circles, was informed about HAMODI'S indiscretion, he mumbled in Yiddish: "We need a paper." That was sufficient.

Later Rabbi Qanyevsky contributed $100 to the paper. The bill's photographs, hundreds of them, were distributed among potential contibutors to solicit funds.

Rabbi Shakh hesitated to give his final blessing for fear that another paper will only increase discord in an already divided electorate. The impetus came with the death of an important Lita rabbi in Haifa. HAMODI'A did not even bother to report the death. "From the time of YATED NE'EMAN's establishment Lita rabbis started to die. In other words, people began to become aware of their passing away," says Rabbi Israel Glis, smiling. He is one of the two editors.

YATED claims to have 5,000 subscribers and several hundred regular readers. According to them 14,000 copies of the weekend paper are printed. About 3,000 are flown to the U.S. to be sold in Lita yeshivas there. The weekend success is attributed to the supplements which contain stories about known scholars. About 2 weeks ago Rabbi Glis climbed to a good vantage point during Rabbi Feinstein's funeral and looked at the large crowd. "I saw 80 percent Lita style hats. I asked myself, why is this not reflected in the subscriber list?"

Glis is is an old timer in ultra orthodox circles. He started at a young age in the extreme Yad-Le'Ahim, and later in Or Same'ah, the yeshiva frequented by born-again Jews. When he was put in charge of the paper a year ago he did not

even know where to begin. "I had no idea what it was all about. For me it was as if I was charged with landing a spacecraft on the moon." After a study period in which he visited several papers Glis started gathering writers from within the young leaders of the ultra orthodox circles. The investors, according to Glis, who know that for the time being it is a money losing proposition, established a company named Yeda Pirsumim. The editorial staff meets daily in MONITIN's office. Cooperation with the monthly magazine, which makes its money publishing color nude photographs, has been the cause for many attacks by opponents. Glis claims that due to this cooperation MONITIN allowed him to remove the nude photographs from the walls and attach mezuzas to the doorposts. Young students of a certain committee come to the office nightly and scrutinize every word that is to be published.

YATED NE'AMAN is printed by the atheist paper 'AL HAMISHMAR. This association, too, is a trouble spot. One evening, the messenger lost a photograph of the prime minister visiting the Ethiopians protesting in front of Hekhal Shlomo. 'AL HAMISHMAR people calmed Rabbi Glis over the phone: "Don't worry, everything is all right, we have a photograph, the very same thing." Glis was not worried. The next morning, when he opened the paper, he was horrified. In the center of the photograph, right next to Peres, there was a woman. Not only that, her arms were bare. The paper had to apologize to the readers. When the IDF removed the Knesset members who tried to settle in the Hebron Kasbah, one of the photographers that YATED NE'EMAN sent to the scene, requested Member of Knesset Ge'ula Cohen to move aside for a minute so he could take a "clean" photograph." YATED NE'EMAN also censors titles of rabbis opposed to it. Thus, for example the title Ga'on was omitted from a writeup about Rabbi Pinhas Menahem Alter, the Gur Rabbi's brother. The title "Maran" is reserved exclusively for Rabbi Shakh. The HABAD hassidim are ignored altogether. Their names are removed from reports on activities where they participate. Recently there was a news bulletin from ITIM. It related to an explosion at the water pipe near Lod. The report ended with a list of settlements which might be affected by the water shortage. One of the censoring committee members removed Qfar-HABAD from the list. Because of all these erasures HATZOFE called the paper YATED LETIPEX, referring to the common white-out liquid.

There is an all out war between HAMODI'A and YATED NE'EMAN. Member of Knesset Avraham Shapira, who advertises his carpets in full page ads in all secular papers, refuses to even answer YATED's questions. YATED has no Shtihey Karmel ads. Anyone who advertises in YATED may find his business under fire, literally. The last fire happened about a month ago at Photo Avigdor of Hazon Ish St in Bney-Braq. The arson fire was preceded by an ad in YATED. A restuarant owner who advertised there was clubbed. Another way to annoy advertisers: a person goes into a large store and places a particularly big order. When the merchant and his helpers finish packing the items, another person, as planned ahead of time, enters the establishment. He points to the owner and attacks the buyer: You are buying from that person? He advertised in YATED. The order is cancelled right then and there. Rabbi Shakh`s supporters do the same to those who advertise in HAMODI'A. In self-advertising YATED requests to "tell the advertiser he was seen at YATED NE'EMAN." With a commendable sense of humor the ad was reprinted in the Purim issue with an addition "and I haven't seen you since."

In addition to HAMODI'A and YATED there is another successful ultra orthodox paper, published by the Belz hassidim, HAMAHANE HAHAREYDI, edited by Israel Eikhler. Eikhler has opened his paper to all ultra orthodox factions.

One of the conditions that the Rabbi of Gur followers place on signing a peace agreement within Agudat Israel is the closing of YATED. Glis says that he is not worried. He does not think this condition can ever be met.

Table on pp 28-29 listing ultra orthodox papers.

Catogories	HAMODI'A	HATZOFE	YATED NE'EMAN	EREV SHABAT
Periodicity	Daily	Daily	Daily	Weekly
Run by	Agudat Israel	MAFDAL	Rabbi Shah	JERUSALEM POST
Zionism	Negative	Positive	Negative	Reserved
Mishna	Low profile	Reserved	Very supportive	Positive
MK Shapira	Very supportive	Reserved	Reserved	Factual
Arabs	Negavive	Negative	Negative	Aggressive
Territories	Hawkish	Hawkish	Dovish	Hawkish
Secularism	Aggressive	Reserved	Aggressive	Aggressive
Women	No names mentioned	Some	No names mentioned	Some

Catogories	SHE'ARIM	HAMAHANE HAHAREYDI	QFAR HABAD	NEQUDA
Periodicity	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly	Bi-weekly
Run by	Po'aley Agudat Israel	The Belz Rabbi	HABAD young cadre	YESHA Council
Zionism	Somewhat positive	Negative	Reserved	Positive
Mishna	Reserved	Positive	Varies	Reserved
MK Shapira	Reserve	Critical	Reserved	Reserved
Arabs	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative
Territories	Hawkish	Hawkish	Hawkish	Hawkish

Secularism	Negative	Negative	Negative	Somewhat positive
Women	Some	No names mentioned	Yes	Yes
Catogories	'EMDA	BAT HAYIL	HA'EYDA	HAHOMA
Periodicity	Monthly	Periodi-cal	Weekly	Irregular
Run by	Moreshet	Batya Karmi	Ultra orthodox faction	Neturey Qarta
Zionism	Positive	Positive	Aggressive	Aggressive
Mishna	Reserved	Reserved	Negative	Negative
MK Shapira	Reserved	-	Aggressive	Aggressive
Arabs	Reserved	-	Positive	Positive
Territories	Hawkish	Hawkish	Dovish	Dovish
Secularism	Reserved	Reserved	Aggressive	Aggressive
Women	Yes	Mostly women	No mention	No mention

8646
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MA'ALE ADUMIM CELEBRATES TENTH ANNIVERSARY

'Ofra NEQUDA in Hebrew No 97, 25 Mar 86 (Supplement) pp 2-3

[Text] The Violin, The Lute, The Cymbal, The Ram's Horn are names of streets in Ma'ale Adumim, in the Kley Shir (musical instruments) subdivision. The theme continues to The Zither Entrance, The Bell, and The Organ, not far from The Horn Circle. Shim'on Ansbakher, one of the old-timers, has an idea to place an image of the instrument at the corner of any street bearing such name. For the time being this orchestra is just part of a fast growing city on the slope of a mountain, 10 km east of Jerusalem. At the (priest's) Breastplate subdivision, no precious stones are exhibited. Perhaps there is no need for it. The precious stones are the homes on the streets bearing the names Carnelian, Topaz and Emerald.

Suddenly, bordering on the desert, a city has grown. Among the reddish rock and the streambeds, in the heart of the ancient, fascinating setting, there is a new city coming to life. Dan Edre'i, city manager, claims that youthfulness is not just a matter of age. "Youthfulness is also a culture, freshness, and open and innovative thinking. This youthfulness, along with the youth of the people, is felt everywhere in Ma'ale Adumim. More than 1,000 children spend their mornings in kindergartens alone. The lines in the maternity clinic and the activities in the youth center prove that the planned "Golden Age Village" will not house any of Ma'ale Adumim's people. The first elections to the local council are soon to take place. There are many accomplishments. True, there are goals that have not been attained. Those who are running for the chairmanship, now held by 'Amos Tartman, are bound to stress the latter.

Ma'ale Adumim observes its tenth anniversary after three and a half years of existence. A logical contradiction? Not necessarily. The first group arrived 10 years ago on the seventh day of Hannuka. It consisted of 23 families and six singles. They started out under very difficult conditions at a point now called Giv'at HaMeyasdim (Founders' Hill). They started implementing the dream of a city east of Jerusalem. The dream itself started 2 years earlier among the group which just started forming then. Shim'on Ansbakher, born in Frankfurt, goes back a few years: "It started a few years after Qiryat Arba. We were walking around with an uneasy feeling, with an unclear conscience. We formed a nucleus and started distributing leaflets. One day I heard a discussion by a well known-rabbi, Levi Nahmani. He talked

about a Jewish settlement in the Judean desert. Several other members joined in and it was decided to establish an open settlement, facing outward." Today, many of the founders are walking around like Alice in Wonderland. They find it hard to believe that the dream has turned into a road and a neighborhood, a youth center and a supermarket. Eli Tzalqo, one of the first settlers: "The dream has come true. The place is now a city. Ma'ale Adumim has something unique to offer. In the long run I would like to see some sort of continuity between here and Jerusalem. This would solve some political problems. But what we really have to concentrate on now is the uniqueness of this place."

It turns out that the proximity to Jerusalem is both an advantage and a drawback. On the one hand moving to Ma'ale Adumim does not necessarily entail a new job. The advantages of a close, big city are also not to be discounted -- education, commerce, culture, and entertainment. On the other hand, the very same proximity discourages independence and is likely to turn Ma'ale Adumim into a suburb of the capital.

Smarayahu Kohen, manager of the Jerusalem region in the Housing Ministry, has been following Ma'ale Adumim in all stages of construction and occupancy. "The goal in establishing the city was political. The ideas of solving a housing shortage for young couples or improving the quality of life were not the major issues. It was necessary to block all entrances to Jerusalem from a potential Jordanian attack. This political goal has been achieved." This political issue, mentioned by Mr Kohen, is very important, but anyone looking for ideology in Ma'ale Adumim is not very likely to find it. A large majority of the people came for practical considerations. Not that the political issue has been obliterated altogether, but it certainly is not the dominant one in their considerations. Therefore, the association between Ma'ale Adumim and the JESHA (Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip) Council, or Gush Emunim is rather loose. "When the time comes," say YESHA people, "this loose relationship may turn out to be dangerous." But in Ma'ale Adummim nobody thinks that this time will ever come. The massive construction and the accelerated development will isolate the city from any political negotiations. Some rumblings can already be heard that the city is not properly recognized for what it is in the YESHA Council. Anyhow, there is some reminder to former cooperation in the names of streets in the industrial park: Yamit Road, Ofira, Holit, Talmey Yosef.

'Amos Tartman, council head, points to four factors that have to be taken into account in the construction of a city. They are planning, social, educational, and vocational aspects. "The process takes time. We are now in the first third of development. We succeeded mostly in integration. We could serve as a model to others on this issue."

The heterogeneous population in Ma'ale Adumim consists of all ethnic groups and political parties, religious and secular, old-timers and new immigrants. They are all integrated in the educational system and other social frameworks in a way that could be envied. One of the great advantages was that the city was built before people moved in and so it was possible to plan and prepare while learning from other settlements' experiences.

Some history: The original group was recognized as a group of workers who were there because they were working in the industrial park under construction. In Nov 74 the government agreed to construct an industrial center which was to serve Jerusalem. It was the late Israel Galili who was instrumental in pushing the idea. But the foot-dragging which followed forced "the Ma'ale Adummim group" to establish a "sudden setlement" on the 15th km east of Jerusalem. There was a long debate in the government which resulted in clearing the place by the IDF. This beginning was shared by other settlements, too. Later the structure became a synagogue which, naturally, had to be guarded along with the Tora book stored in it. Uri Ari'el has been there ever since. From that day, Independence Day 1975, there has been a continued Jewish presence here. In September 1977 the government decided on the construction of a city in Ma'ale Adumim. A year and a half later the local committee was recognized as a local council. The 50 families and the yeshiva people on site considered that an important victory for the idea of constructing a city between Jerusalem and Jericho.

Today there are about 2,500 families in Ma'ale Adumim. Avi Greenberg, the council's treasurer: "We have reached this number, 12,000, within three and a half years. There is no other city in Israel that managed to do quite that. We have established a model system. We grew in a controlled fashion, while learning from the experiences of places like 'Arad and Karmi'el. Naturally, and because of the kind of people we have, they maintain the structures, the gardens, the lighting, the bus stops ,and all the rest." This family feeling is healthy for a young, growing city, but sometimes people want things that are far and beyond what a local council can offer. One day a woman showed up with a youngster. She insisted on seeing me immediately. When she came in she said: 'How can you sit here while my child did not get a hot meal in nursery school last week?'" There are other examples to how much people in Ma'ale Adumim care and what they expect of their elected officials.

There certainly is a lot to be proud of in Ma'ale Adumim. It gets an "A" for cleanliness. The local paper in Ma'ale Adumim has a detailed schedule of activities in the local swimming pool as well as a detailed response to a woman who is concerned that some construction may obstruct the view. Involvement is the key word here. Israel Goldstein, the city's secretary, says that Ma'ale Adumim brought comfort to settlement by thinking of all the details, without much fanfare, just going about it quietly and diligently. "Ma'ale Adumim enjoys both the biblical manna and the quails and since the city is in the desert, this is most appropriate. We have received the best and we had better be modest and know that we did not do it single-handedly."

The city does have many partners. There are large and small construction companies such as the Jerusalem Economic Co which built and is now expanding the industrial complex, and there are other contractors in all facets of construction. Obviously, the Housing and Construction Ministry is the central authority responsible for what is taking place in Ma'ale Adumim. Minister David Levi visits the city regularly and is kept up to date as to was is happening there. Asher Vayner, who was general manager of the Housing and Construction Ministry helped a lot. Yet, there is always someone who is nostalgic about the days when everything was small and intimate, the beginning of the settlement, not so long ago. Menahem Ansbakher wrote about it with

some humor: "...a local council has come instead of an observer from a settlement committee. The gardener was replaced, dear sirs, with a gardening department. The guard who was looking for a tenth man for morning prayers has been replaced by several synagogues: a Sephardi, a general, a Moroccan, an Iraqi, and one for those from Yemen. The shack was replaced with a supermarket; there are olive groves where nothing grew before. The mountain, across from the shop, has a garage and a horse ranch. We have a medical center and a youth center and Ethiopians and a post office and a police station and a master sergeant. Let's hope we don't have a jail..."

The origin of the name Ma'ale Adumim is in the the Book of Joshua where the site is described as the border between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The name refers to the road leading from the valley to Jerusalem where the red color rock is dominant. "And the border went up to Debir from the Valley of Achor, and so northward, looking toward Gilgal that is over against Ma'ale Adumim (ascent of Adumim) which is on the south side of the brook" (Joshua 15,7).

8646
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SETTLEMENT OF TEL HAYIM DESCRIBED

'Ofra NEQUDA in Hebrew No 97, 25 Mar 86 (Supplement) pp 16-18

[Text] Stories of renewed Jews are often published in the Israeli press. The words that repeat themselves are "renewal," "inner happiness," "light," with all their variations. From this point of view the settlers of Tel Hayim in Shomron are no different from any other renewed Jews. Many went the normal route of renewed Jews: life on a kibbutz, life in a city, IDF service, a long trip abroad, activities in all kinds of sects, other experiences, vagrancy, coming back home and a feeling that "this is not it" followed by being "renewed." This is a period of life that, with the possible exception of the last step, is typical to many Israeli youths. This is a generation of confusion and doubt where curiosity is the fueling force behind wandering. The fuel runs out after 2-3 years and then lands on the capitalistic living room and the safe--a grey route that eventually leads to retirement.

This is not the case in Tel Hayim. This is a communal religious settlement near Nablus at Tel Rujayb, about 1 km away from where Elon More was evacuated following the famous court case. This is a group of young people, many are graduates of Mekhon Me'ir, that wanted to build a home, a settlement according to their image. They started arriving here after the question of the land was settled. The settlement was founded 2 years ago, on Independence Day 1984. Now it consists of 30 families and many other families from Mekhon Me'ir and the "spiritual environment" those who are interested would also like to join. Only a housing shortage is holding them back.

Avi Rontzqi, the settlement's rabbi, himself a renewed Jew, is an IDF paratroop commander now in the reserves. If it were to be said that he is the decisive force in this settlement it would not be an exaggeration. "The group started in Mekhon Me'ir in Jerusalem by those who wanted to continue with the "incubation" that the institute had offered," he says. "Implementation went according to how we had been educated. It is our contribution to the People of Israel. In as much as we can we are trying to improve ourselves first. The very fact that there is a settlement living according to Jewish law is in itself a contribution to the people, and a basic one at that, one that can serve as an example to other settlements wishing to lead this kind of life." The rabbi and the other members have no doubt as to how they want to educate their children: a Talmud Tora (an ultra orthodox school), not a regular school. On the surface it would be very difficult to discern the inner

struggles and the differences among the members: thinking seems to be alike, as do the conclusions. Theoretically one would expect people who have undergone such a drastic change in their lives to be more philosophical and critical. "Not necessarily," they say. "It is precisely those who have seen other ways and realized their shortcomings who can accept the antithesis to their former lives without any questions." It is this latter opinion which prevails in Tel Hayim. The plan, which is now taking shape, is to establish a regional Talmud Tora for children from other settlements, whose parents are not content with the public religious schools and who want to stress religious studies in education. Within a year and a half many Tel Hayim settlers will graduate from Kolel MARATZ in neighboring Elon More with a teaching degree. They plan to be on the teaching staff in the planned Talmud Tora. There are other plans, too. These, also, relate to religious education. There is talk about establishing a higher institution for Jewish studies where seminars and lectures for soldiers are to be held. Even now the settlement is visited by various groups who talk to the settlers and to the rabbi. "We are not trying to convert any of them," says the rabbi. "We give them the experience, we meet with them. The fact that all of us here are in the IDF and consider military service as being highly important removes barriers immediately."

Students of a religious school who visited here were deeply impressed. Among the compliments and thanks received later in many letters were those of the school's principle, well known in the orthodox community: "The settlement consists of former IDF soldiers, many of whom served in important and high positions in elite combat units. This fact has special significance from the prevalent religious point of view in that it does not preach that those who devote themselves to religious studies should not participate in public responsibilities, especially defense." Yet, Amana, the settlement authority for Tel Hayim, is not content with just reserve service. Efforts are made to diversify the single line of occupation, namely, education. They are trying to raise their interest in raising sheep. Some members have begun diamond cutting. There is already a grocery store in Tel Hayim, unlike neighboring Yitzhar and Ma'ale Levona. This fact, too, is a source of local pride.

A few kms away from Tel Hayim, close to the Arab village of 'Awurata, there is the traditional burial site of Itamar, Aharon's son, and the 70 old men. Tel Hayim's official name is to be Itamar. It turns out, though, that this name is not easily acceptable. "Tel Hayim suits us better," agree most of the settlers. The intent is clear: a life of Tora, a new life, and a spriritual life are the stated goals of Tel Hayim's, rather, Itamar's, settlers. It may perhaps be better to resort to a definition made by Yo'av Malka, a settler, originally from Kineret: "The stress in this settlement is finding the common denominator between heaven and earth. Although we are in this life by a decree from heaven, we are mandated to hang on to earthly things and glorify them. This is our approach the whole--the individual--the whole, heaven--earth--heaven. If this seems too esoteric, it really is not. The Talmud chapter now under study in Tel Hayim concerns punitive damages and finances--very down to earth issues.

Some details on the environment. Mt Gerizim and Mt 'Eyval are to the west, symbolizing the blessing and the curse. Many poems have already been on the subject. Ancient travel logs refer to these ancient sites in the Nablus

region as bound for calamity. "Isracard" is not part of life here, but the biblical scenes are. "And let us all say amen" with the rolling mountain between Mt Gerizim and Mt 'Eyval and the fire of the bramble in Yotam's parable (Judges 9,14), together with "let us go to Dotan" and "Shim'on and Levi are brothers". Among all these scenes one can see the olive trees, greyish-green, like soldiers. Rows and rows of them. The Bible, here and now.

Going back to Tel Hayim. 'Ofer Hed came here from Beyt Qama in the Negev. He went the normal route from the kibbutz to the IDF. In 1975, immediately following his military service, he went abroad. "When I was overseas I found certain inner strengths that I did not know existed. The trip made me independent. The main thrust of the kibbutz's goals, so I felt, was ideals that are not expressed through action, or at least not felt. The trip enabled me to transcend the daily trivialities of the kibbutz." After the trip 'Ofer returned to Beyt Qama with a renewed spirit, with a desire for self-realization, with big words. He was disappointed. He moved to Haifa where he opened a natural food store. He did all kinds of things. He turned to yoga for a while, meditation, philosophy, and vegetarianism. His conversations with Yo'av Malka, his reservist colleague, who in the meantime had become a renewed, brought him one day to Mekhon Me'ir in Jerusalem. "I told Rabbi Bigon: 'I did not come here to be renewed, I came to try things out.' Later, when I got involved, I understood that this was my place. Studying there was the first time in my life that I felt I was utilizing all my spiritual potential in a suitable way for me.'" 'Ofer, 31, is married to a woman with a religious background, the granddaughter of Rabbi 'Atiya. Like many of his friends he spends his mornings studying in Elon More and in the afternoona he works for himself. He too, cannot wait for the settlement to become the educational center for the region. "My goal, and that of many here, after all, is to make a contribution to the settlement and to the people of Israel. But in order to make a contribution to the latter we need more maturity and knowledge. In order to deserve it, a lot of sacrifices have to be made, perhaps personal, but the goal is to give not to receive."

Tel Hayim is an ultra orthodox, Zionist settlement. The author was surprised at the degree of agreement to this definition among the members: an ultra orthodox, Zionist settlement. Women do not vote and are not elected to the settlement's leadership. Head covering is part of the bylaws. When Scharansky came to Israel everyone huddled around the only television set. ("This, too," apologizes one member, "is a small, black and white set."). Newspapers are also hard to find here: "This disassociation actually helps," says Alfonta with conviction. "We don't have the ice cream that city children constantly demand. We have no pornography for yeshiva students. The disassociation is an advantage. Even daily discourse requires studying." Beyond the personal and internal circle Tel Hayim hardly participates in the various activities of Shomron. When the YESHA council or Gush Emunim organizes a demonstration or some other public event it can be assumed that Tel Hayim members are not among the participants. "We have people here who study the scriptures, people whose time is very precious to them. " It is no less important to increase one's knowledge than to demonstrate," says Avi Rontzqi. "We here don't talk about politics. We are too busy studying and building a settlement. I only heard about the YESHA council resolutions when

I served in the reserves." Avi Rontzki, who became a renewed Jew after the Yom Kippur War, is proud of the high degree of theological activities in his settlement. He is a graduate of the Haifa military academy. There were several religious officers in his unit who influenced him and started him on his way to where he is now. Every family that wants to move to Tel Hayim undegoes his scrutiny. One day someone proposed to have a evening of singing. "We did not come here to sing," decreed the rabbi, and the idea was shelved. All cultural activity is religious in orientation. "We hope that Rabbi Aviner will come here for a lecture," says Rakhel Brandwin, to cite an example. "And maybe, maybe, someday, Chief Rabbi Ben-Eliyahu."

Those who want to remain in the Mekhon Me'ir incubator can certainly find their place in Tel Hayim. The women are very proud of the uniqueness of their settlement. Every morning, at about 9, several of them get together for a study session. Every day has an agenda: the Book of Judges, modesty, laws about gossip, etc. It is the rabbi's wife who is the teacher in these sessions. These are spiritual hours. Says Ya'el Ruqin: "It is very important that we have these sessions. Otherwise we would spend all our days with diapers." Ya'el, a renewed Jew herself, came from Russia in 1972 with a B.Sc. in computer sciences and mathematics. She also studied teaching in Jerusalem. "I became a renewed Jew because I studied mathematics. It enabled me to see that infinity does exist. It broadened my horizons." She married Aharon, an immigrant from England. He, too, is a renewed Jew, the former treasurer of kibbutz Merom Golan. In their home ("No, we don't have any secular books, we tried to get rid of them...") the author was served almonds, dates, and beet juice; they are vegetarians.

An interesting phenomenon. About one third of Tel Hayim's people are vegetarians. Some give in on the Sabbath and taste some meat. "This is a bodily rebirth, too," says Ya'el. It may be part of the self-searching, an attempt to attain perfection in all facets of life. For some, vegetarianism preceded a return to a religious way of life. Others went about it the other way around. When a child in nursery school answers correctly, the reward is not candy, it is some fruit.

Rakhel Brandwin says that this is only one of the unique things in this settlement. She also points out the congenial relations. "If the Jewish Agency were to help us on the issue of hosting, it would help us a great deal. We love to host individuals and groups. There are many groups that want to visit here via Mekhon Me'ir, or otherwise. There is a very special atmosphere here. Often we hold the last Sabbath meal together. Is that why you are here?" Among other activities in the settlement she mentioned the local children's library which includes books about ancient sages or pious men. One probably could not find a popular adventure book there.

Yo'av Malka, with a dark long beard, was born in Kineret. Nine people from Kinert have already become renewed Jews. The kibbutz did not really take it too hard. About 6 years ago he went abroad with the idea of emigrating. He maintains that the return to religious life has always been an inner drive for him. "Wherever I looked for something good someone always came along and trampled it all over. I have a lot of appreciation for the kibbutz movement in general, and for Kineret in particular. But equality in the kibbutz often

came at the expense of self expression. They want you to be like everyone else. They think that equality has to rule everywhere. I left the kibbutz for life abroad and I came back. I once had some free hours in Jerusalem, waiting for a bus to Eylat. I went to visit a friend in Mekhon Me'ir. I heard Rabbi Bigon. This was a lesson on being renewed. No, I did not leave the place with a skull cap. But for the first time in my life I heard people giving answers to the more important questions in life. I went to Eylat. Up to then Eylat's sunrises were a source for romantic dreams, now they began to symbolize renewal, a symbol for a much deeper ideal."

There is a saying that each person is a world unto himself. In Tel Hayim this acquires a further meaning. There are so many worlds, such a variety of stories, with only one common denominator--aspiration. Aspiration to find the truth, to grow spiritually. There are those who are worried about this settlement. What will come out of this unconventional group? Construction of permanent homes has started. The settlement's institutions are very well organized, but the future may hold surprises and decisions which are bound to be the real challenge. The character and way of life of the settlement will be determined by the current group, as well as by future individuals and groups who will join shortly. The plans are encouraging. The accomplishments, spiritual and other, in 2 years of existence, cannot be discounted. Rabbi Rontzqi and his people will certainly take into account the influence of this way of life on the children who grow up here, a problem that many YESHA settlements are now struggling with, although from a different point of view. They will have to think of broadening of horizons, of community life, and association with others. Actually, they will have to think about everything, just like everyone else, but a bit more cautiously, with a bit more wisdom.

The human framework in Tel Hayim-Itamar is rather fragile, still being woven. The combination of renewed Jews and those who have spent all their lives in a religious surrounding such as the very religious settlement and other social ingredients and experiences expressed here certainly merit attention. It could be said, without exaggeration, that the whole issue of being renewed is undergoing an additional test here. Are we witnessing a process where the individual renewed Jew is transcending to the sphere of doing for the public, contributing to others? Are there any potential dangers that may disturb this ideal in the future? These, and other, questions, are bound to be part of the settlement later on.

Wisdom, caution and time will, with God's help, give the answers.

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PRESSURES ON NATIONAL MORALE ANALYZED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 9 Mar 86 p 5

[Article by Yosef Mikhelsqil]

[Text] The resistance of the Israeli public to psychological pressures is weakening. The first signs of this weakening are, among other things, a decreasing willingness to volunteer in civilian life and in the army, and increased emigration from Israel. Israeli leaders, generally speaking, ignore the morale of the people. They do not understand, or do not want to understand, that this front is no less important than the political-military security front, the economic front, and the social front. Resistance, morale will determine the tenacity of the state in the future.

With these words Professor Shlomo Broznitz, head of the Institute for the Study of Psychological Pressure at the University of Haifa, concluded a lecture that he gave on "The Pressures of Life in Israel" at the dedication of the scientific-academic club at the University. Professor Broznitz has been studying for years resistance to conditions of pressure in Israel and around the world. In recent years he has conducted such reasearch for the American army, with funding of several million dollars. Shlomo Broznitz notes that in addition to the pressures which operate on people in Israel as a result of external events and personal problems, we have sources of pressure that are uniquely "our own": we are a land that absorbs immigration, and the condition of immigration is one of the most deadly pressure situations known to man, especially since in Israel immigration means a mixture of cultures and life styles because our sources of immigration are so many and so varied; we have the pressure of war, which has persisted already for 38 years with no end in sight; we have the pressure of continually maintaining security, and the economic pressures. A particular point of pressure is the Holocaust, the memory of which oppresses a large part of the population.

It has been proven scientifically that the large numbers of pressures which are different from one another do not simply accumulate, but in fact (magnify each other). If an individual has a problem in a certain area and then has another problem in a second area, the weight of the first problem is certain to grow. Human reserves are not infinite. If we allocate a part of them to one area, there is insufficient strength to cope with an additional area.

For example, in a survey that was done among students at Haifa University the question was asked: has someone close to you been hurt in one of the wars? 21% answered that someone close had been killed. 52% had participated in a war themselves. "These are astronomical figures," Professor Broznitz noted.

Pressure expresses itself in various ways from inability to sleep or relax to constant tiredness, tension, and nervousness. If one wants to evaluate the influence of pressure on the population, one cannot always be satisfied with health statistics, although what one learns from these statistics is very worrisome, Broznitz observes. For example, the number of people in Israel stricken with high blood pressure--which in most cases derives from psychological pressures--is 8 or 9 times higher in Israel than in the United States. Out of every 100,000 citizens of Israel 11.5 people suffer from high blood pressure. The number of suicide attempts in Israel is higher than in many other countries; according to statistics, for every 100,000 residents 52 have attempted suicide.

Another area in which research has been done is children's comprehension of the idea of death. In this area the children of Israel are two years ahead of children in other places in the world.

The constant tension is expressed in answers to questions from a different area-creativity in children-when one examines their ability to invent interesting answers to different questions.

To the question: what can you do with a shoe?, more than a few children responded: One can throw a shoe at a terrorist.

Unlike in other countries, there is no difference in Israel between survivors of the Holocaust and the remainder of the population when it comes to the degree of their psychological distress today.* "We see Air Force commanders, senior officers of elite combat units, business leaders, students--and it is impossible to describe the pressures and the tensions that these people must contend with. It is really a miracle that they continue to function, a miracle that I cannot understand, says Professor Broznitz.

In this context the question arises: What happens to people or to groups of people who must live many years with such pressures? There are two approaches to this question among scientists. One group claims that people are strengthened by a multiplicity of troubles. The others claim that in resisting pressures, every person has a limit, and the more he is burdened, the closer he comes to the breaking point. The subject is a matter of dispute in the scientific community. It is no longer claimed today, as it was in the past, that "getting stronger" is the only possible model of response.

How can we know if the tendency will be in the direction of becoming stronger, or in the direction of exhaustion leading to breakdown? Many studies have

* The reason for this - everyone in Israel is distressed.

found that continuing pressures, which return again and again, become chronic, and every addition then brings a man near to the breaking point. Who knows what the resistance of our soldiers in previous wars would have been if they had known that the war in which they risked their lives was only one in a long line of wars that were expected in the future? Psychologists have discovered that the way in which we interpret and relate to reality determines the burden which this reality imposes upon us. In fact, the primary factor which determines the resistance of an individual is his morale at the time of conflict. "Our morale today will determine our resistance tomorrow," notes Professor Broznitz.

According to Broznitz, there are people who think that it is possible to overcome pressure through denial. Ben-Gurion, for example, exercised denial as a matter of national policy on the subject of the Holocaust during the 1950's, on the assumption that if we were to deal with the subject, the young state would not have the strength required to handle serious challenges. However, denial works only for the short run. On the other hand, hope helps an individual when he is in trouble. It is easier to handle a difficult task if one believes that he will find a solution. Without hope, resistance disintegrates.

Professor Broznitz thinks that the our psychological resistance is a "hidden front" that has been completely neglected. The Israeli people have always related to it as if it were unlimited: "We have withstood difficulties in the past, and we will withstand them again in the future--therefore, we must worry about the pragmatic things." This has been the attitude of our heads of government. "If they say to us every week that there is no one to talk to, there is nothing to be done, there is no light at the end of the tunnel, that we must dig in and wait--perhaps this is a policy that is valid on the economic, social, and political levels, But on the level of public morale it is a total failure, because it kills all hope," states Broznitz. "Strengthening hope is a matter of life and death, a security concern of the first level, an existential concern. This is our fuel, we have no other."

Professor Broznitz thinks that the time has come to turn the "hidden front" of psychological resistance into an "open front," and to derive from it lessons for all realms of life.

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RELIGIOUS TERROR AGAINST SECULAR MERCHANTS

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 7 Mar 86 p 14

[Article by Natan Ro'i]

[Text] A few days ago, the telephone rang in the shop of a merchant in the Me'a She'arim section of Jerusalem. On the line was a man who identified himself as Haredi ultra-Orthodox Jew who had threatened the shopkeeper several weeks previously. He had announced that he would burn down the store of the shopkeeper's neighbor. The store had been burned down. Now-- announced the ultra-Orthodox caller-- we "will kill you if you do not get out of here."

For several years the secular merchants who have shops in Me'a She'arim have been suffering from the threats of the ultra-Orthodox. Yesterday, when I came to the shopkeeper in order to hear his story, he was frightened. "Come to the back part of the shop. I am afraid that these Haredim ones will burn my shop or hurt me."

We went to the back part of this shop, and there he told me: "It began six months ago. The ultra-Orthodox began to burn shops. Since then thirty shops have been set on fire. A few weeks ago they burned the shop next to me. A few weeks later I came at night to my shop, and I saw several Haredim trying to break the lock. I ran to the Border Police, which was patrolling here, and I said that they were trying to break into my shop. The policemen told me that they had received an order from senior officers not to get into situations of friction with the ultra-Orthodox so as to avoid creating unnecessary tension. Therefore, they did not come to chase the Haredim away."

The merchant related to me a series of torments that he and his fellow merchants had had to undergo: "They punctured the tires of my car several times. Many times during the month when I arrive in the morning, I must break the lock because they have put glue in it so that I won't be able to open it. My neighbor was beaten by several of the Haredim who threw a stone at him, swelling up his cheek. We turned to the Minister of Police and the Minister of the Interior, but to this day nothing has been done to improve this terrible situation. We live here in terrible fear, but we can't leave our shops because no secular person is prepared to purchase them in view of "the ultra-Orthodox terror."

While I was in the shop, a young, red-faced ultra-Orthodox man with red hair stood in the doorway watching our movements. When I left the shop, he accompanied me to the car.

Eliyahu Haro'eti, a Jerusalem photographer, said to me: "Even I am deathly afraid of them. There is one merchant here who can from Iran and who says that he left the terror of Komeini only to find a new terror in the Komeini style."

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BRIEFS

WATER EMERGENCY IN NORTHERN ISRAEL--At the end of the week, the Meqorot Company instituted emergency measures for pumping water from the Kinneret, after it became clear that the Kinneret's water level for this time of year has reached its lowest point since the establishment of the State. Within the framework of the emergency, water will be pumped from the Kinneret only for directly supply of the daily needs of farmers and other consumers. The Kinneret's water level now stands at minus 211.24 meters, 2.20 meters short of the optimal level. Experts from Meqorot say that if there is not a sudden and drastic change in the weather, the water level will soon reach its red line, which is minus 212 meters, and that during the summer it will go down even further. The reservoirs of the Golan and the Galileee are also almost empty. A spokesman for Meqorot has stated that the situation is extremely serious, and that during the summer difficult problems are expected in supplying water to consumers. [Text] [Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 9 Mar 86 p 9] 13235

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PLO REPRESENTATIVE IN LONDON INTERVIEWED

Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI in Arabic 1 Feb 86 pp 16-18

[Interview with Faysal 'Uwaydah: "Margaret Thatcher Working for Americans. No Peace Without the PLO"; in London, date not specified]

[Text] The British capital has recently turned into an active center for political movement. This has been caused by the role the British government and its chief, Margaret Thatcher, have assumed toward the Middle East. It is a role, however, that serves the objectives of American policy and impedes any development in the position of the EEC countries.

This what the PLO office director in London, Faysal 'Uwaydah, reveals in an exclusive interview in Al-BAYADIR Al-SIYASI, while talking in detail about the nature, goals, and dimensions of the British role, by virture of his position. He also refutes British allegations and discloses the dubious link between the British government and the American administration who are jointly seeking to find a substitute for the PLO to take part in passing a liquidative solution to the Palestinian problem.

Faysal 'Uwaydah, this active diplomat, in the course of this replies to Al-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI's questions, puts forth important facts about Arab positions, political initiatives, the role of the Palestinian community, and the positions of British parties toward his people's cause. The following is the text of the interview:

[Question] Our meeting with you comes at a time when London has turned into a center of political activity related to the peace process in which American envoy, Murphy, is taking the initiative. On the other hand, it comes after a short stormy period during which Great Britain appeared to have entered the field of political initiatives in the Middle East in an effective way, while the only thing such action has produced is a "fiasco." Since you are in the middle of all this, we would like to hear the details from you.

[Answer] Had I been asked at the time to assess what was happening, I would have expressed a less optimistic view and events would have quickly justified my pessimism. The British role in the Middle East crisis, ever since the conservitives came to power, has been one that is delegated by the Americans to do their probing for them and, is delegated by the Americans to do their

probing for them and, sometimes, to send up trial balloons. In the events you mentioned above, the British initiative and the cancelled visit of the Palestinian-Jordanian delegation to London, the British objective was to obtain PLO recognition of Resolution 242 to pass on the Americans for them to use in their political planning. This does not mean that Great Britain does not have any role in play. It has an important role at the EEC level, on the one hand, and as a certain element of pressure on the Americans, on the other hand. The British position is what is impeding EEC recognition of the PLO. Putting an end to British opposition will put an end to European opposition, thus allowing the EEC to join as an element of pressure on the Americans toward accepting the PLO's role in the peace process. The British role, therefore, has its significance at the European level.

[Question] What happened then with regard to the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation's visit?

[Answer] What happened is that Margaret Thatcher, by her personal initiative, overstepped the bounds of the British role by inviting the delegation, thus infuriating the Americans and the Zionists. This is when the phrase, "recognition of Israel within safe and recognized borders," was introduced without the PLO's knowledge. Khury and Milhim rejected this, as was expected, and the delegation's visit was cancelled.

[Question] The British say that the text, including the aforementioned phrase, had been agreed upon in advance.

[Answer] This is not true. The Palestinian side approved the visit on the basis of Thatcher's message. The phrase in question was not mentioned at all in this message (Thatcher's message was sent to the Jordanian government: AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI). The message contained only the following:

1. An explanation of the Jordanian-Palestinian accord and of peace steps to be undertaken on its basis.
2. Condemnation of international terrorism.
3. Recognition of the UN resolutions related to the Palestinian issue, including resolutions 242 and 338.
4. Milhim and Khury would attend in their personal capacity as part of a joint delegation.

[Question] Where does the British initiative stand now, especially since indications are that London is only a host to current movements?

[Answer] Judging by the recent visit of the British secretary of state for foreign affairs to the occupied territory and his meetings with leading personalities there, the British role has returned to the orbit of American-Israeli attempts aimed at finding a substitute for the PLO in the Peace process, or to a vicious circle as we see it.

[Question] What are the conditions that can influence the British position?

[Answer] There are many conditions, including winning British public opinion and creating economic and political pressures to urge the British role to distance itself from the American line. With regard to British public opinion, there has been considerable progress. The press has become more wary and more critical of western positions toward the cause. Mass organizations have developed a certain sensitivity toward Palestinian rights and secondary official levels do not hide their displeasure with the British position. However, this position's link to the American position is strong enough to warrant an change in the given facts in order to have an effect on it, which is beyond our capabilities as Palestinians. As for Arab pressures, the least that can be said about it is that it is not enough and does not make maximum use of Arab capabilities. To have a good sense of Arab pressure potentials, if such pressure is employed as it should be, it is enough to look at the incident of the film, "Death of a Princess," which was banned through Arab pressure, notwithstanding, that freedom of the mass media here is a holy cow that no dares to touch.

The fact is that we, as Palestinians, are working alone without any Arab support, not only on the British level, but also on the western level as a whole. Neither Arab economic nor political capabilities are expressed as they should be. Take, for instance, the British arms deal with Saudi Arabia. The deal is worth $16 billion, a sum Great Britian urgently needs, but Saudi Arabia has not used it to imposed any conditions.

[Question] How do you explain such reluctance?

[Answer] This is simply due to the existence of an Arab position unconcerned with the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. I cite here the statement Jimmy Carter issued during his administration in which he said that he had not heard any demand from any Arab King or president for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. This statement was not rebutted by any Arab leader. Add to that the negative Arab position in the face of aggressions and attacks against the PLO and you have evidence to substantiate this Arab position which I have just described.

[Question] What, in your opinion, makes the Arabs unconcerned with a Palestinian state?

[Answer] To put it simply, the nature of the Palestinian revolution does not appeal to most Arab regimes, and the American position that rejects a Palestinian state and the PLO alike, prompts most Arab regimes that are linked to Washington to lose their incentive to support the cause. Frankly speaking, the Arabs not only accept the fact that America does not give in to their pressure in the matter of the Palestinian state, but they also accept its position of not using this pressure in the first place.

[Question] Nonetheless,there are Arab initiatives marked by coordination with the PLO, like the Jordanian-Palestinian accord, for instance.

[Answer] The primary aim of the Jordanian-Palestinian accord is Jordanian-Palestinian relations on Jordan soil. If this accord can lead to a just peace

as we see it, so be it. Otherwise, the accord, as we have already said, is a framework for relations between the PLO and the Palestinian people in Jordan and between the Jordanians and their government. This framework is necessary, regardless of the peace process. Our relations with Jordan are different from those with any other Arab country. We have a social and historical relationship that must be protected and crystallized in order to avoid any deviation, such as one of us dominating the other.

[Question] What is the PLO's goal now beyond the Jordanian-Palestinian accord?

[Answer] The West, America particularly, is seeking to exclude the PLO from any peace process. There will be no progress toward peace without the PLO. The way things stand now, it new serious directions should emerge, we will suport peace. Otherwise, we will persist in our endeavors to realize the aspirations of the Palestinian people by whatever means we have, including a push toward a political settlement.

[Question] And the inhabitants of the occupied territory must be satisfied with that?

[Answer] Our biggest concern is the people inside the occupied territory. We want to alleviate their pain as much as we can, but not at any cost. We will not overlook any hope or ray of hope of saving the people and the land, but the basic rights of the Palestinian people cannot be foresaken.

We believe that Israel has begun to feel the strain and its allies are beginning to grumble. In America, the grumbling is at the popular level and, in Britain and Europe as well, it has even reached the official level. However, things have not reached the point of abandoning efforts to forge a peace to Israel's advantage. It all boils down to patience and tireless struggle until the right people are convinced of the impossibility of settling the problems in accordance with Israeli interests alone and at the expense of Arab interests.

[Question] Let us go back to the British political map and the possibilities of Palestinian action within it.

[Answer] There is official recognition by 11 international unions of the Palestinain Labor Federation which is a PLO faction. Such recognition turns into votes in the Labor Party convention, which constitute 40 percent of the vote.

However, official party recognition of the PLO requires two-thirds of their vote. The Labor Party has adopted numerous positions supporting the Palestinians and their cause.

The Liberal Party, under the leadership of David Steel, has recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and the leaders have exchanged visits.

As for the Conservative Party, it is committed to the decision of its leader, namely the current prime minister. Mrs Thatcher's position, in our view, is influenced by the fact that she comes from the "Finchley" electoral district that this a large Jewish constituency, making her more vulnerable than the party to Jewish lobby influence.

There has been some progress as far as Thatcher is conceren following her trip to al-Buq'a camp. She has stated that she was moved by what she saw, but what rules, as we have said, is the electoral influence and the British policy's link, in the conservative areas, to the American position due to Britian's fragile economic and polictical situation with respect to Europe.

At the political level, there are good relations and strong sympathy with several social and professional institutions, as such as medical and charitable organizations.

As I have indicted, the situation has improved greatly at the press and mass media level as a result of sympathy for our cause by a number of journalists, as manifested in greater media coverage, on TV in particular. This has led to a change of attitude toward us at the official level. They treat us like an embassy, ask for our political reactions, and invite us to functions. Moreover, our presence here is as a PLO liason office independent of any Arab country, as used to be the case,and this is very important.

[Question] One last question: What about the Palestinian community in Great Britain?

[Answer] From the standpoint of size, the community is very large. However, it has not yet crystallized to the point of having palable influence on everyday life. We estimate that there are 5,000 families living in England under good economic conditions, unlike other immigrant workers. There is a very small number of students who shoulder the responsibility of political action single handedly. This is not a happy situation, but, nonetheless, it is the truth.

Palestinian mass organizations are present on British soil as well, such as the Labor Federation, the Student's Federation, and the Writers Federation as well as the Red Crescent. All this is in the open, of course.

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FEMINIST LEADER IN GAZA INTERVIEWED

Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI in Arabic 22 Feb 86 pp 32-32

[Interview with Miss Yura al-Barbari by Muhammad al-Mashukhi: "Al-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI Interviews Yusra al-Barbari, President of the Palestinian Women's Federation. I Have Been Tried by Military Tribunal Several Times"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Miss Yusra al-Barbari is a well-known national and humanitarian figure and a pioneer in the feminist field in every sense of the word, as well as a woman of indubitable contributions and struggles.

Suffice it that she earned a university degree in history and geography from Cario University in 1949. Today, she is the president of the women's federation in Gaza.

Professor Yusra al-Barbari has worked in all fields of national and social services, the field of education and charitable organizations in particular.

In recent weeks, the name Yusra al-Barbari jumped into newspaper headlines and news columns.

Our interview centered around the life and accomplishments of Yusra al-Barbari.

[Question] Can you give us a brief idea about yourself?

[Answer] I am a Palestinian who was born in 1923 in Gaza, where I attended elementary school, then was graduated from the Schmidt High School in Jerusalem. I earned a BA in history and geography from Cario University in 1949, thus becoming the only Palestinian female college graduate in Gaza. Thereafter, I began preparing for a master's degree with Professor Shafig Ghurbal who was my mentor, but he died before I finished my studies and, therefore, I did not take the exams.

I worked in education as a teacher and as principal of al-Zahra High School which combined the general high school, the teacher's institute, the business department, and the popular college in the evening, in addition to the junior high school. I then worked as an education inspector.

After 1967, I stopped working because of my occupation which created in me an aversion to work.

Ever since 1967, I have coupled the position of president of the Palestinian Women's Federation in Gaza as a volunteer.

[Question] What are the characteristics that set the Palestinian woman apart form other women?

[Answer] The Palestinian woman, at this stage, is almost distinguished by her struggle at all levels due to the circumstances and situations that have been imposed on her. In the first half of this century she had to brave the British Mandate as a mother, wife, and child because the British Mandate's function was to carry out the Balfour Declaration, which was aimed at dispossessing her of her being and her country. In the second half of this century, she has had to brave homelesness and the loss the a major part of her country, a private and public possession, be it inside or outside the homeland.

After 1967, she had to face occupation under which she has been suffering for 20 years. This is the greatest challenge, for it has forced her to take part in all struggles and conflicts alongside the men.

[Question] Is there a difference between the Palestinian woman inside the occupied territory and her counterpart outside the territory?

[Answer] The Palestinian woman under occupation has to endure more than Palestinian women outside the occupied territories, albeit that expatriation is a tragedy in itself, no less severe than what their sisters have to endure under occupation. Women in the occupied territory suffer the lack of the most basic human right, namely living on national soil and maintaining the Palestinian personality inasmuch as the vicious attack on the Palestinian people, which is aimed at doing away with them and their national goals, deprives them of stability and life as a human being with a nature and a personality, just like other women of the world.

[Question] What is your connection of the Palestinan woman's struggle?

[Answer] The Palestinian women's struggle is not limited to the carrying of arms. The woman who watches over her children is a struggler. The woman who educates her children is a struggler. The one who hangs on to her land to plow and cultivate is a struggler, and the one who denies herself to give her children is also a struggler. These are sacrifices, but there are other strugglers for the woman at higher levels.

There is not a Palestinian family that has not experienced tragedy because of catastrophe.

[Question] How does sister Yusra al-Barbari describe the Palestinian woman in one sentence?.

[Answer] The Palestinian woman is the symbol of struggle and sacrifice.

[Question] What advice do you give the Palestinian mother?

[Answer] The Palestinian mother must be aware of her situation and circumstances and must act accordingly. She must raise her children to be patriotic and must preserve the unity of the family which is the nucleus of of Palestinian society.

She is mother, sister, wife, homemaker, head of household, teacher, worker, doctor, engineer, and childbearer who supplies the Palestinian people with human resources that are their treasure and their pride.

[Question] To what extent is the Palestinian woman working along side the man?

[Answer] The Palestinian woman has been working alongside the man at various economic, social, political, and struggle levels. Most Palestinian women work to supplement the family income and raise its social and economic standard. They have held jobs in all working fields, as employees, teachers, doctors, and engineers. They have joined men in their political and military struggles at home and abroad.

[Question] In what new way does the Palestinian woman stand out?

[Answer] The Palestinian woman is different from other women of the world in that she is facing a greater challenge at the current stage and most stand up to such a challenge, noting that, compared to most Arab and third world women, she is considered to be more liberated, from the economic and social standpoint in particular.

[Question] Can you mention an unforgettable honorable stand taken by Palestinian women?

[Answer] Throughout the day I have the honor of meeting Palestinian ladies who are the model of steadfastness, patience, and endurance. This alone is honorable.

[Question] What about an embarassing position?

[Answer] The Palestinian woman with her intelligence and long experience in endurance and defiance is able to overcome embarrassing situations.

[Question] What role can the Palestinian woman play in these difficult economic circumstances?

[Answer] The Palestinian woman must appreciate the difficult economic circumstances the country is experiencing and must manage her household

accordingly, keeping in mind that she has endured the past worse conditions which she has overcome bravely and defiantly.

[Question] Can you tell us about the recently postponed court case against you before the military tribunal?

[Answer] The fact is that this is not the first time I have been brought to trial before the military tribunal in Gaza. I am accused of organizing sewing and English-language classes, noting that the Palestinian Women's Federation has been in existence since 1964 and is licensed by the Ministry of Social Affairs and is officially registered. We have kept up our activities folowing the occupation, and to other activities are represented by sewing classes, language instruction, knitting, crochet and embroidery courses, elimination of illiteracy, offering assistance to needy families, including families of prisoners, and supplying winter and summer clothing to prisoners and artificial limbs to those who need them in cooperation with some local and international societies. We also run nurseries and kindergartens for children between the ages of 1-month and 3 years and 3 years to 6 years, respectively, at the federation's 5 centers in Gaza: Khan Yunis, Rafah, and Bayt Hannun and a nursery in the city of Gaza.

We usually advertise at the beginning of the school year our need for teachers, sanitary workers, nursemaids, and drivers and new courses in sewing, languages, knitting and embroidery.

It happened that the Ministry of the Interior sent us a notification concerning the organizing of sewing and language classes without permission and I was summoned by the police for questioning. I was fingerprinted just like any other defendant or Mafia figure, then was referred to the military tribunal for the first court session last 29 January. The attorney for the defense was counselor Fayiz Abu Rahmah.

Upon reading the indictment, the military judge argued that such cases must not be brought before the military tribunal because they are outside its jurisdiction, but the public prosecutor asked for a postponement and the right to present his argument in the next session on grounds that that was in violation of an amended article in 1909 concerning Ottoman associations, bearing in mind that the federation, like other institutions, had renewed its certificate of registration 3 years ago. What is strange is that there is an objection to a specific part despite the approval and licensing of the whole.

[Question] Were you expected such a trial or such an indictment?

[Answer] Of course. I was expected such an indictment because the administration imposes stiff restrictions on the federation's activities and sources of finance.

I was brought to trial on the charge of inciting the indigenous population against the occupation when a magazine which used to be published by a medical association asked me a question about our most significant social problems and ways to remedy them. My answer was that the most significant social problems

were the occupation and the most effective way of dealing with them was the elimination of occupation and the establishment of a Palestinian state on Palestinian land under the leadership of the PLO.

These sessions were held and the judge was about to pronounce his sentence when counselor Fayiz Abu Rahmah asked for a postponement so that he could bring in mass media and Hebrew University figures as witnesses to testify to Israel's democratic system and freedom of expression. The Gaza military governor had no choice but to announce on radio and TV his decision to ask for an indefinite postponement due to the defendent's old age and her important services in the fields of education and social activities.

I had received a letter from the civil administration, dated 10 November 1985, saying that "a careful investigation of the Palestinian Women's Federation showed that the association was currently running a sewing class and an English-language course without the necessary permission from the competent authority (Ministry of Interior department). Such an action is in violation of the Ottoman Associations Law, second amendment, Article 17, paragraph B. Awaiting your prompt answer to this action." On 5 November 1985, I received another letter saying: "We inform you that, in accordance with legal rules and regulations, educational courses are not allowed to be organized without the necessary permission of the Ministry of the Interior."

I have sent a written reply to these letters to the civil administration, but I do not know how convinced they are of this position of ours.

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OPPOSITION PAPER COMMENTS ON U.S.-USSR POWER STRUGGLE

GF141424 London KEYHAN in Persian 10 Apr 86 p 16

["Behind-The-Scene Politics" column: "Soviet Maneuver to Draw the Islamic Republic Toward Itself"]

[Text] The heads of the two superpowers, prior to each of their meetings, try to conquer new fields in their power struggle so that they may speak from a position of strength during their upcoming talks.

Reagan and Gorbachev will most probably see each other this year to keep the "Geneva Spirit" alive. However, although these meetings are held for the purpose of having talks to reach some understanding with each other, they are also considered a test of strength. Therefore, they cannot but do their homework properly.

The American show of strength against Libya in the Gulf of Sidra was not just for the purpose of punishing Al-Qadhdafi. The United States considers Libya one of the three links in the chain of the international terrorism. The other two links are the Islamic Republic and Syria. But why did the United States pick only Libya for this "chastisement?" The reason seems to be that the United States has no effective means [word indistinct] Israel to punish Syria. To invoke Israel militarily against Syria might have repercussions in the Arab world which may not be very pleasant for Washington, which is always showing its sympathy toward the moderate Arabs. Such a course would not have been advisable when Vice President George Bush was visiting some countries int he Persian Gulf -- Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Oman, and the YAR -- to, among other things, affirm that the United States would safeguard the Arab oil fields against any possible aggression from the Islamic Republic.

In any case, for the time being the United States does not have the sufficient and effective means to chastise or discipline the Islamic Republic except through indirect support to the opposition. Moreover, the fact that Iran is a neighbor of the Soviet Union makes the united States very cautious in selecting the means to combat the Islamic Republic.

Nevertheless, the show of strength toward Libya was a warning to the Islamic Republic also. This has given an opportunity to the Soviet Union to draw the Islamic Republic toward it and also to point out to the Islamic Republic the policies in which both of them have common interest.

The Soviet ambassador in Tehran Vil Konstantinovich Boldyrev had a meeting with 'ali Akbar Velayati, foreign minister of the Islamic Republic, in March of this year. He pointed out to him two common points. The United States has ordered a reduction in the diplomatic personnel of the Soviet Union at the UN and the Soviet Union condemns the show of military strength against Libya. The Islamic Republic considers its friendship with Libya one of the main pillars of its foreign policy, and it also has been subjected to the restriction the United States has imposed on the diplomats of some countries at the UN.

However, Velayati, while offering sympathy toward Libya, did not condemn the U.S. action in asking for a reduction in the Soviet personnel at the UN. He only said: "The Islamic Republic condemns expansionism by any country in the UN."

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VELAYATI: WAR TO BE CONTINUED UNTIL SADDAM'S OVERTHROW

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 30 Mar 86 p 3

[Text] There are many reasons to believe that Saddam's supporters--both on a regional and on an international level--are losing their hopes with each and every passing day regarding the survival of his regime. With a little reflection on the statements and political analyses of the press and radio of the superpowers one can easily discern this fact. Moreover, the truth of this matter becomes quite clear by reading between the lines of the statements which are made by some diplomats. This lack of hope in Saddam becomes more extensive with each passing day.

In a special interview with the political service correspondent of ETTELA'AT, Dr Ali Akbar Velayati, our foreign minister, made the above statement. Also in this interview he answered our correspondent's questions regarding the recent political provocations in the region, the oil price reduction plot, the relations between Iran and France, the recent statements made by Arafat and the results of the visit by the UN delegation from Iran. The text of this interview appears below.

Here it should be noted that this conversation took place on one of the last days of 1364 [21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986].

Question: After the operations of Val-Fajr-8, there were a lot of goings and comings between Tehran, Damascus and Riyadh and the Saudi Arabian foreign minister travelled to Damascus and Baghdad a few times. What was the main reason for all this travel and what were the results?

Answer: All the countries of the Persian Gulf region have always been worried about the spread of the war to their countries. This has been a baseless fear which existed despite frequent emphatic statements by Islamic Republic officials to the effect that Iran has never intended to spread the war to other nations and that our system is not a war-mongering system but what is happening right now between Iran and Iraq is a war which has been imposed on us by Iraq and we are only engaged in an honorific defense and that what is going on at the battle-fronts is only a defensive war. Of course, the reason for the frequent trips of some of the foreign ministers of the Persian Gulf littoral states to Damascus--the way we probably presume--is mainly to take advantage of the extremely friendly relations between Tehran and Damascus and try to persuade Syria to ask the Islamic Republic to discontinue the progress of its troops at the war fronts with Iraq. However, with due consideration to the fact that Syrian's policy regarding its friendship with the Islamic Republic is one of a long-standing and genuine nature and that they like ourselves believe that the cause of agitation or disturbance

in the region is the ruling system of Iraq, therefore they have many times blamed Saddam Hoseyn as the main culpable person for imposing this situation over the region. Furthermore, considering the Syrian government's policy of friendship with the Islamic Republic on the one hand and their opposition to the ruling system in Iraq on the other hand is but a fundamental policy, one should know that they are not going to change their policy for the mere reason of such comings and goings. And as we have noticed, there has been no change in policy. Here we would like to seriously advise our neighbors that instead of calling on X and Y, they would do better to desist helping Saddam and value the good neighborliness of the Islamic Republic and relinquish their supportive stance of Saddam's regime, since that regime is not going to be around too much longer. We hope that according to the wishes of the Iraqi people a new government will be established in that country in the future which will be both to our own advantage and that of the other countries of the region as well.

Question: After the trip of the Algerian foreign minister to the region, AL-SEYASSA newspaper quoted Arab diplomats proclaiming that the Iranian government has deviated from its principal condition which is the downfall of Saddam's government and it has even reduced the previously-claimed 150 billion dollars retributions to 50 billion dollars. In general, what is your opinion regarding such claims?

Answer: It is very rare for Kuwaiti newspapers to print something correct and many of their articles are full of unfounded and baseless statements. What has been printed in that newspaper is a sort of wishful thinking of some of Saddam's supporters in the region which has been manifested in this manner. Today the whole world knows that our nation will not settle for anything less than Saddam's downfall.

Question: How are the relations between Iran and France under the present circumstances? Considering the rumors that relations between the two countries are improving, how do you evaluate the future of these relations?

Answer: We have on several occasions stated that basically there are no reasons for the turbid relations between Iran and France and what has come to pass is the result of the ill-intentions of some political figures in France. For instance, look at what French diplomacy has done during the past few months, it is something which one expects from the fledgling and greenhorn diplomats. Otherwise, no sane person would abandon the side of a popular, powerful and stable government like the Islamic Republic and attach himself to the government of Saddam which is falling apart. They always claim that they are supporters of democracy and for this reason they are giving refuge to a number of criminals.

On the other hand, they expelled two Iraqi nationals contrary to their wishes, and most cruelly delivered them to the executioners of Baghdad. After they were pressured by the Muslem strugglers and also from within France the government was criticized by the people, each one tried to lay the blame on the other.

Our nation brought down the shah and kicked out the United States and did not give in to the wishes of any superpowers so as to remain independent. We did that to set our foreign policy according to our national interests and establish relations with others based on mutual respect. We intended to practically follow the principle: "Neither East nor West," and it is quite clear that we are not going to accept any imposition at all. We hope that in the near future a new government will be running the affairs whose officials truly understand the genuine interest of the people of France.

Question: In an implicit way, Claude Cheysson, the commissioner of the Common Market has stated that in order to confront any probable operations which will disrupt or stop navigation in the Persian Gulf, the western European countries will take some actions. Furthermore, he has added that the European Economic Community condemns the continuation of the war by Iran. What is your view in this regard?

Answer: France has completely lost its political prestige in the Middle East and as I mentioned before, such problems as the French hostages in Lebanon, expulsion of some innocent third-world people from France under the pretext of recent bomb explosions in that country and finally the expulsion of two Iraqi nationals and their compulsory dispatch to Iraq all derive from the same political turmoil. As a result that country is looking for a pretext or subterfuge to regain its lost political prestige.

On the other hand, in comparison to other western countries France has a very weak as milk and water navy and its recent threats were merely for the purpose of acquiring prominence and propagandizing the sale of French arms--and this is exactly the same allegation which is levelled against the ruling authorities by French people, namely, the sale of arms.

With a wider outlook one can say that from the viewpoint of arms sale France is in intense competition with England. This competition for the sale of arms in the Persian Gulf area takes advantage of muddying the waters as a result of the region's countries apprehension arising from assistance which is extended to Saddam by France. It only seems appropriate that the two rival countries [France and England] show off their presence the best way they can. Therefore, the presence of the French naval fleet in the Persian Gulf is meant to be a show-case to persuade Arab leaders to buy more of their arms.

Question: The reduction of oil prices in the world markets has been deduced as the opening of a new front against Iran. What have been Iran's political measures for counteracting this issue? And how do you evaluate the long-term effects of oil price reductions in the economic and political interplay or interaction of the country?

Answer: As you indicated, this is a plot against the Islamic Republic and generally speaking, it also applies to the third-world nations. As you see, right now the third-world countries are in general the producers of raw materials and

the purchasers of industrial products; however, the industrial nations are constantly increasing the price of their products or through their connections and underhanded dealings are reducing the prices of raw materials. As you know the most valuable raw material in the world is oil which has no other substitute. Let's suppose that they can produce electricity by using nuclear energy, but when it comes to oil we know that its use is not only confined to the manufacture of electric power. Today, the petrochemical industry as a very useful and complex industry plays a very effective role in the life of man.

Therefore, the very oil which is consumed throughout the world today has nothing else which can simply replace it and if the oil-producing nations of the third-world coordinate their decisions, they can properly guard their own interests and prevent the dominant powers of the world from applying pressure on them. The recent action by some of the industrial countries to exert presssure on the oil-producing nations of the third-world was a premeditated plot which had deep roots, and unfortunately some of the oil-producing countries of the third-world have gone along with this plot and others have either out of necessity or by dint of force taken a resigned attitude. Meanwhile, our recommendation and that of some of our friends in OPEC to all OPEC and non-OPEC members who are one of the oil-producing nations of the third-world has been to show some resistance for only a short time and undoubtedly they will be the final winners. In this regard, various political comings and goings have taken place either by our officials or other officials of the region's countries to some of the oil-producing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America and many negotiations have been held with various countries. Undoubtedly, there is no other way except an increase in the political arena, continuation of these comings and goings and finally making a unified decision by the oil-producing countries of the third-world to mutually defend and protect their own interests. Similarly, the Islamic Republic will defend its interests in any shape or form which it deems appropriate. We will not exchange our national interests with anything at all. And oil as a national capital for attaining growth, development and progress of the country will be used accordingly. We will not consent, under any circumstances, that a part of our nation's interests and those of other nations of the third-world be swallowed up by the world-mongers. We will make every effort in this regard since we have a country with immense natural possibilities and more importantly we have a nation with a firm resolve for preserving our independence, reconstructing it and improving its lot. We are certain that such actions will make our people ever more determined to continue their struggle.

Question: Recently, the international press relayed the news that the Syrian government has agreed to reopen the Iraqi oil pipeline. What is your view in this regard?

Answer: We have also read this news in the presss, but as far as we know Syria, and being quite aware of the intentions of the relevant mass media in the world which plans to create doubt in the minds of the region's nations...such statements follow the same trend. We believe in the stability of the political stance

of the friendly and brotherly country of Syria. Furthermore, this not the first time that such intimations or bare suggestions have been reflected in the mass media of the imperialist countries. We have to say that in the long run such propagandistic actions will not prevent us and Syria from following our mutual objectives in the region.

Question: In his interview with the weekly AD-DUSTOR, Mr Yasser Arafat confirmed the stance of the Iraqi in its war with Iran. How do you analyze the reason for this inclination of the PLO?

Answer: If Mr Arafat can really do something it is better for him to make a serious and sincere effort for the liberation of the Palestine territory. Unfortunately, both Mr Arafat and some of his friends in the Palestine Liberation Organization have sold out the interests of the Palestinian people very cheaply. Instead of taking up arms and fighting against the occupying regime of Jerusalem, he and his friends sit around in various hotels and discuss compromise with Israel.

What he said in his recent interviews is only a token of his subserviency to some of the rich supporters of Saddam, otherwise he knows well enough that such statements are worth as much as the paper which it is printed. Moreover, the world people do not give too much credence to such baseless political bluff and it is unfortunate that the people of Palestine have to have a leader like him. The only thing that he does not do is make an effort for the liberation of Palestine.

Question: With regard to all the recent political comings and goings in the region, are there any indications for the overthrow of Saddam?

Answer: There are many reasons to believe that Saddam's supporters--both on a regional and on an international level--are losing their hopes with each and every passing day regarding the survival of his regime. With a little reflection on the statements and political analyses of the press and radio of the superpowers one can easily discern this fact. Furthermore, the truth of this matter becomes quite clear when one reads between the lines of the statements which are made by some diplomats. This lack of hope in Saddam, in my opinion becomes ever more extensive with each passing day.

Question: After his trip to Iran, Mr Turgut Ozal recently travelled to Syria and held negotiations with the authorities of that country regarding the imposed war on Iran. Moreover, he also made a trip to Iraq. What are your views concerning such visits. Does Turkey have an intermediatory role as regards the imposed war?

Answer: As has been announced on many occasions by the responsible officials of the Islamic Republic, it will never accept the intercession and mediation of any government and it will continue the imposed war until the downfall of Saddam

and the realization of the conditions set by the government. Turkey is well aware of the viewpoints of the Islamic Republic and all the responsible officials of that country, including Mr Ozal have clearly announced that until and unless their role as intermediators are accepted by the ruling authorities of the Islamic Republic as such, they will not take any steps to intercede in the matter in question.

Question: What was the results of the visit by the UN delegation with wounded victims of the recent chemical weapons bombardments by the mercenary Ba'thist regime of Iraq?

Answer: Even though the special UN delegation arrived in the Islamic Republic of Iran after a two weeks delay, they accomplished very good results in regard to substantiating the use of chemical weapons by the Iraqi aggressor regime which is duly reflected in their report to the secretary general. In this report it is mentioned that on many occasions Iraq has used chemical weapons against Iranian troops and the specific kind of chemical materials are mentioned as "mustard gas" and "nerve gas" in some cases. The investigating UN team reached the conclusion that Iraq also deployed chemical weapons in the area close to Abadan and in the Al-Faw region. This report indicated that the use of chemical weapons by Iraq this year was much more extensive than in 1984.

The main points which can be considered in the report by the UN chemical experts delegation is that in the first place they have specifically confirmed that Iraq has used chemical weapons and secondly, not only has the Iraqi regime used chemical weapons in the battlefronts it has also made use of such weapons in Abadan as well.

Therefore, this issue points to the fact that the international reaction has so far been inadequate and once more by using chemical weapons in its warfare Iraq has shown complete disregard to international and humanitarian regulations. We expect all the international forums and other countries of the world to condemn this anti-humanitarian action of Iraq which has been perpetrated despite all the international regulation, particularly the 1925 Geneva Protocol and make an effort to prevent the use of chemical weapons by this regime any more.

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DECEASED CLERGY EULOGIZED FOR RESISTING KHOMEYNI

London KEYHAN in Persian 10 Apr 86 p 16

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] There were quite a few people who entered into a running battle with the shah's government, and after the shah was dispatched and Khomeyni appeared on the scene they felt quite sorry and remorseful. Ayatollah Shari'atmadari was one of the most famous amongst such individuals.

Shari'atmadari's disagreement with the shah revolved around the point that the clergy ought to take part in enacting government policies as far as the constitution rightfully allows them to do so; while his difference of opinion with Khomeyni centered around the fact that the clergy must not interfere in state affairs more than what is really befitting them. It was this kind of reflection and reverberation which made him deemed as a moderate and righ-of-center personality.

However, if during the reign of the shah, particularly in its most reposeful and calm period, the government had tolerated moderation, in a period when and where the revolutionary fervor sets the tone of a society's course, moderation seems to be considered a great sin with a least allowable punishment which confines one to stay at home and never say a word. This was the fate of Shari'atmadari.

He was confined to stay at home for several years and it was only in the last few hours of his life that he found an opportunity to see the outside world as a result of the discovery of a virulent and deadly cancer for which he was seeking a cure.

Now Shari'atmadari's body has been buried. But before that happened, the grating and strident propaganda and publicity machines of the regime made extensive efforts to likewise bury his fame and renown as a first-rank source of emulation in the Shiites' world.

Conservative and moderate men have never been makers of history. In order to reach that level of heroism, there needs to be a certain temperament or disposition which not only Shari'atmadari lacked, but he really didn't crave to have at all. And this was his point of power. This is the point which needs to be stressed. Since under various circumstances--such as when the revolt of Tabriz came to pass or when Qotbzadeh was contemplating a coup--it was expected of him

to step in the arena as a political leader and like the hero of a great tragedy ever courageously follow the course of a victorious defeat which he was destined to meet.

What is the point of power of a man? Is it when a man, contrary to his temperament, resorts to ways and means to accomplish something which is senselessly expected of him by the masses? Is it when a man pretends to be what he is not? Such pretensions or false shows might be put on by a youngster, but certainly not by an oldster.

In the heat of the clerics' opposition to the shah, Shari'atmadari was a well-known opponent, however he never used such smutty or obscene words as Khomeyni used to utter. He was more spiritual and mindful of others than to use his delicate hands to hit someone in the mouth or on the face. And his mouth was not to be soiled with foul language. Moderation, temperateness, geniality and mildness of manner were all the points of his power. He was not willing to let go of this point of power, in order to assume the character of a personality which befitted the wishes of the people who became desperate as a result of the evil deeds or iniquities of the regime.

A person who remains faithful to oneself and continues to do so until the hour of death must be endowed with a firm and an unshakable personality. Shari'atmadari was not in favor of harshness. It was for this reason that when the Islamic revolution revealed its harsh and grim face, Shari'atmadari distanced himself from it. Despite many of his peers, he never appeared in a poll booth to vote for something which was said by the leader and founder of the Islamic Republic. Although he remained silent, he never expressed his confirmation. This was the reason why they had to make him confess. The kind of confessions which they were able to draw from others.

Shari'atmadari was tremendously fearful of politicizing or gerrymandering religion. Thus, it was but natural when in a revolution-stricken Iran, where religion had turned to be completely politicized, he fell victim to it.

His big difference with the ayatollah Khomeyni was that Shari'atmadari intended to inject the very ethical essence of religion into politics while on the other hand, Khomeyni has made a political tool out of religion which does not conform to any ethical musing with all its inevitable ups and downs.

In those feverish days of the revolution, when on every occasion hundreds of thousands of people marched through the streets, Shari'atmadari's pictures with his prominent face and smiling eyes side by side with Khomeyni's pictures with his sullen looks and gloomy eyes would leave no doubt with the on-lookers as to who was the leader of this revolution.

The very first reactions of Khomeyni clearly indicated that whoever was not with him, was going to be against him. And Shari'atmadari was not with Khomeyni, therefore he showed him his animosity. Not in the manner of truly heroic people,

but in a style which befits Khomeyni alone. Certainly in the annals of honors of Khomeyni--if such records ever eixted at all--they will not write that he succeeded in bringing Shari'atmadari to his knees, however this will remain as one of Shari'atmadari's honors that he never succumbed to Khomeyni. He never ceded to the theocratic ruler. He remained silent and died silently. Nevertheless, the sound of his silence will reverberate in the future history of Iran and continue forever.

12749
CSO: 4640/249

SHARI'ATMADARI'S POPULARITY, RELATIONS WITH REGIME DISCUSSED

London KEYHAN in Persian 10 Apr 86 p 16

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] Tehran--KEYHAN News Service. A large number of people in Tabriz, Tehran, Qom and other Iranian cities who intended to arrange memorial meetings and prayer sessions for ayatollah Shari'atmadari, the great Shiite leader, were arrested. According to some eye-witness reports, in order to disperse people in Tabriz, the regime's agents resorted to firing their guns.

On the occasion of the death of ayatollah Seyyed Kazem Shari'atmadari bazaar storekeepers and other traders of Tabriz, Tehran and Qom quit work for the first three days of the current week. In Tehran and Tabriz the entire bazaar was closed on Saturday and on the following day the Islamic Revolution Committee of the Bazaar summoned a large number of the merchants and those who had worn black clothes as a sign of mourning over the demise of Shari'atmadari, and detained some of them.

A group of Azarbaijan mourners who were travelling by several buses from Tabriz to Qom to participate in the memorial services were stopped on the way and they were directly dispatched to the war fronts.

In Tehran, Tabriz and Qom no permission was given to hold mourning and memorial services.

In Qom, the regime's agents stopped convening special mourning sessions which had been announced by the great ayatollahs Golpayegani and Mar'ashi.

In Tehran, ayatollah Alavi Borujerdi, son-in-law of ayatollah Borujerdi who was speaking in Fakhrieh Mosque about ayatollah Shari'atmadari, was arrested. Likewise, ayatollah Seyyed Reza Sadr, brother of imam Musa Sadr was arrested in Qom.

At the time when ayatollah Shari'atmadari was on his death bed in the hospital, a large number of people from Tehran and Azarbaijan gathered in front of the hospital, but the revolution guards and regime's agents scattered the people and arrested some of them.

Many people have been detained in Tehran, Tabriz and Qom. However, some of the detainees, among them ayatollah Sadr, were released after 24 hours.

More than one month ago, ayatollah Shari'atmadari, who was in excruciating pain, was transferred from Qom to a hospital in Tehran for treatment. He was hospitalized in Mehrdad hospital which has been established by a group of Azarbaijani doctors on Takht-e Tavus Avenue and was being treated under supervision of Dr Eshraq. On the last days of his life when his illness had become unbearable the hospital officials asked the regime's authorities to allow ayatollah to be sent abroad for treatment, however not only did they not grant his request, but a few days before his death some of the regime's agents known as "Hezbollah Nation" gathered in front of Mehrdad hospital and after staging a demonstration they asked the hospital officials to send Mr Seyyed Kazem Shari'atmadari packing since, they claimed that while there were not enough vacant hospital beds for the war wounded people why should Mr Kazem Shari'atmadari occupy a hospital bed over a month!

This request by the demonstrators was fully published in the regime's newspapers. Also, the news concerning the death of ayatollah Shari'atmadari was mentioned after 72 hours in a few lines which were printed inside various journals of Tehran in this way: Mr Seyyed Kazem Shari'atmadari died of cancer in Tehran. Furthermore, in this brief news it was added that all the honorific titles of Mr Shari'atmadari had been taken away from him as of five years ago by the clerics and seminarians of Qom's theological center. Mr Hassan Shari'atmadari, son of ayatollah Shari'atmadari who lives in exile in Germany the day after the death of his father in an interview announced that if the regime's officials had permitted the grand ayatollah Shari'atmadari to go abroad for treatment, it was possible that his illness could have been cured and he would have regained his health.

Hassan Shari'atmadari further announced that after the death of the ayatollah, his house has been surrounded by the regime's agents and ayatollah's son-in-law was also arrested.

While confirming the news concerning the detainment of some of the people, the son of ayatollah also pointed out that the detention of the passengers of the buses which were transferring Azarbaijani mourners and stated that in the afternoon of Saturday, 12 buses, which were transporting 150 people from Tabriz to Qom, were detained by armed agents of the Islamic government with all their passengers.

The families of the abovementioned 150 people who were on their way to participate in the mourning and prayer sessions for ayatollah in Qom, referred to various organizations of the regime such as the War Headquarters to find out about their fate and it was in the War Headquarters where they were told that all the 150 people had been dispatched to the advance lines of the war front.

Hassan Shari'atmadari also added that ayatollah Seyyed Reza Sadr, brother of imam Musa Sadr was released 24 hours after his arrest as a result of public pressure, however ayatollah Alavi Borujerdi is still in prison.

The son of ayatollah Shari'atmadari went on to add that according to the reports

he received, the Islamic Revolution Committee of the Bazaar in Tehran has called many people in for investigation, especially those who had worn black clothes.

A Look at Ayatollah Shari'atmadari's Life

Ayatollah Seyyed Kazem Shari'atmadari was born in Tabriz between the years 1280-82 [21 March 1901 - 20 March 1902 and 21 March 1903 - 20 March 1904]. He finished his religious studies in that city and joined the theologian center of Qom in 1330 [21 March 1951 - 20 March 1952] as a teacher. Soon thereafter he became one of the highest-ranking sources of emulation of the Shiites in this city. Both before and during the course of the revolution he adopted a moderate stance. But from the very beginning of the revolution he decisively opposed the issue of "theocratic rule" and his position-taking versus Khomeyni started from this point. Ayatollah Khomeyni in order to win ayatollah Shari'atmadari's favor and assistance once went to his home, but he did not succeed in ending their differences. Ayatollah Shari'atmadari believed that the issue of "theocratic rule" was not something which belonged to a special person. This kind of opposition stood in the way and created some restrictions for him until the issue of the Muslem Nation Party incident, and thereafter the claim of coup d'etat by Qotb-zadeh came to pass. Subsequently, a confession by him was broadcast over Islamic Republic's television which as has been stated by his son was only a brief segment of a long conversation which had been retouched. From that date until his death, ayatollah Shari'atmadari was in captivity by the Islamic regime and he was not permitted to visit even his family members and close friends.

In the former regime, ayatollah Shari'atmadari also announced his opposition to some of the rules and regulations, but he would never flatly denied the constitution. At one time when ayatollah Khomeyni took special position regarding the distribution of landed property and the participation of women in the social and political issues and wished ayatollah Shari'atmadari also to participate in his abrupt stance but met the cold shoulder or rebuff of Shari'atmadari and eventually in the month of Ordibehesht of 1342 [21 March 1963 - 20 March 1964] they were separated and distanced from one another. Notwithstanding, when ayatollah Khomeyni was detained, ayatollah Shari'atmadari together with ayatollahs Qomi and Mahallati came to Tehran and began efforts to win his release and at the same time they announced that Khomeyni had reached the rank of emulation source and thus a source of emulation cannot be executed. It was as a result of such measures that the former regime decided to send ayatollah Khomeyni into exile and as a consequence his relations with ayatollah Shari'atmadari once more were renewed until 1356 [21 March 1977 - 20 March 1978] when the murmurs and rumors regarding opposition with the former regime began and once again relations between the two took a down slide.

Beginning of Disagreements

The hidden disagreement of ayatollah Shari'atmadari with ayatollah Khomeyni reached its zenith in the month of Ordibehesht of 1361 [21 April - 21 May 1982] and on the orders of ayatollah Khomeyni, ayatollah Shari'atmadari's classes were cancelled.

The Islamic regime has indirectly accused the grand ayatollah Shari'atmadari of having had a hand in the 12th Farvardin [1 April] coup d'etat and his connection with the CIA and Qotbzadeh.

Simultaneously, the agents of the regime began their attack on the home of the grand ayatollah Shari'atmadari and some of ayatollah's supporters including his two sons-in-law were arrested. In order to forestall any possible challenge by ayatollah Shari'atmadari's supporters, the Islamic regime placed him under close scrutiny and surveillance.

In the announcement which was published by the regime against ayatollah Sahri'atmadari, while enumerating his so-called counterrevolutionary actions, the announcement quoting a sham or spurious scholars of the Qom's theological center, proclaimed the demotion of ayatollah Shari'atmadari from being a source of emulation.

The aforesaid announcement went so far in disrespecting the rank of the source of emulation as to call him Mr Shari'atmadari. Following the publication of the spurious scholars of the Qom's theological center, the Islamic Republic radio in its news bulletin broadcast another report regarding another sham announcement in confirmation of the previous one signed by the scholars and seminarians of East and West Azarbaijan residing in Qom. The artificiality and spuriousness of this announcement became quite clear when the regime's officials made a mistake and a slip of the pen in phrasing the announcement. As was mentioned before in the beginning of the news report it was said that the announcement in question was published by the scholars and seminarians of East and West Azarbaijan residing in Qom while there was no mention of any names of such scholars at all. Publication of these announcements together with other news pertaining to the troubles and inconveniences which were caused by the regime's officials for ayatollah Shari'atmadari attracted the attention of the political observers of Iran, and subsequently it was said that the action of the regime in accusing the grand ayatollah Shari'atmadari, which undoubtedly had the approval of ayatollah Khomeyni, will be the beginning of a civil war in Iran.

Here it should be noted that in order to quell any possible reaction or demonstration by the people of Azarbaijan and other followers of ayatollah Shari'atmadari, the Islamic regime has dispatched large forces of revolution guards and Hezbollahis to Qom, Azarbaijan and other sensitive localities as of some time ago.

In the spurious announcement while quoting Qotbzadeh they implicated ayatollah Shari'atmadari in this way that after Qotbzadeh's arrest in a televised interview he alleged that the plan of a coup d'etat had been discussed with ayatollah Shari'atmadari through an intermediary and that he took a conservative stance toward the said coup plan.

Here, it should be noted that Khomeyni's fright of ayatollah Shari'atmadari--who had once demonstrated his influence to Khomeyni in the events of Tabriz--from the very beginning was so much that two months before ayatollah Shari'atmadari was put under surveillance when he had intended to go abroad for treatment,

Khomeyni sent him a message stating that God willing, as long as I live you will not take one step outside of Qom.

The news of ayatollah Shari'atmadari's death met with extensive repercussions by the world press and news agencies. AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE [AFP] relayed the news of the ayatollah's death at 0100 a.m.--a few hours after his death--to the rest of the world and a few hours later French and British newspapers wrote articles about his life and position.

12719
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AMAL LEADER GIVES VIEWS ON LEBANON, OTHER ISSUES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 24 Feb 86 p 16

[Interview with Zakaria Hamzeh, date and place not specified]

[Text] Zakaria Hamzeh [Abu Yahya], who is in charge of the general military operations of Amal and deputy director of the executive committee of the same movement, travelled to Iran to take part in the 10 days of Fajr [dawn] celebrations. KEYHAN took advantage of his presence in Tehran and arranged an interview with him which appears below.

But before we begin the interview, let's mention that Zakaria Hamzeh is one of the political-military leaders of the Amal movement whose prospective views completely coincide with the point of views of the Hezbollah and that of the Islamic Amal. It is for this reason that he is adored and respected for his orthodox Islamic principles. In this interview we asked various questions and for reasons which will be discussed later we did not get answers to some of our questions. We discussed such issues as the fighting between various camps, the skirmishes in western Beirut between the Amal militia and the Druze socialists, Marabetun, Jibel fightings, position-taking of Walid Jumblatt and that of Druze, their stance on new agreements, the internal situation of the Amal movement, the general conference of Amal next June, and other issues pertaining to southern Lebanon which involve the Amal movement and Hezbollah. While enumerating the reason for not answering some of the questions, Abu Yahya stated: Because of the existing complex situation in Lebanon and due to the present agreements and accords between various parties, the current political and military scene in Lebanon does not permit me to speak of the official stance of any group. However, I am willing to sit down and talk in general terms about all the aforesaid issues.

As regards the fighting between various camps, with apparent sorrow Zakaria Hamzeh said: For three years the Amal movement vehemently fought against the Zionist regime. While we gained some respect and honor, we also suffered the loss of lives of a few martyrs. However, the fighting between the camps will always be remembered as the result of unselfish effort, devotion, sacrifice and three years of relentless resistance. He went on to add: In 1977, imam Musa Sadr said that the Arabs were looking for a knife to thrust into the body of the Palestine Liberation Organization and all other Palestinians, and as long as he was alive he would not allow the Shiites or the Amal movement to be turned into such a knife.

Today, we see that the Amal movement has become something similar to the knife in question and it has fulfilled the Arabs' wishes.

Question: Is it possible to separate Lebanon's crisis from that of the Middle East?

Answer: In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. As far as Lebanon's crisis is concerned, it ought to be said that this crisis is composed of two sections, one internal and the other external. The internal crisis of Lebanon in reality pertains to such issues as the political system and the person of Amine Gemayel as president of Lebanon. Considering the present circumstances, this internal crisis cannot be resolved permanently unless and until there is a transformation in the very political system of the country. The fundamental motivation of the Lebanon's crisis, the very stability of the political regime is based on a division or schism in the various camps and the domination of the Maronites on the political scene and the important power axes. Thus, we can emphatically state that the internal crisis can only be resolved through a transformation of the regime from a system which is based on schism and division between various sects and factions to one in which people are all considered equal regardless of their religion or their personal identity. Moreover, such a regime ought to bring about an opportunity for each and every individual to enjoy complete justice and certain traits of democracy as far as possible.

On the whole, this issue pertains to the first stage solution for the current crisis in Lebanon as far as favorable local and regional conditions are concerned.

For this reason, when the separatist or sectarian regime of Lebanon is changed to one based on individual democracy, then we should witness the complete transformation of the existing situation. In other words, some people talk about Amine Gemayel's removal, and further improvement of the regime through agreements between various sects for a division of power, but under the present circumstances this process would not lead to a correct solution to the problem. Since in the first stage, the elimination of the existing political regime from the internal scene ought to be considered and thereafter as a result of the eradication and exclusion of the existing regime, Amine Gemayel's political supremacy will be ended. It is because of the present sectarian political regime that Amine Gemayel has been able to become president and dominate the political scene. This issue completely pertains to the internal crisis of Lebanon. As regards the external crisis of Lebanon, I personally believe that Lebanon's external crisis cannot be resolved without resolving the Midddle East crisis since the two crises are so invariably intertwined that one cannot possibly be separated from the other. In other words, the external crisis of Lebanon is closely related to the Palestine crisis.

Of course, with the intensification and expansion of Islamic activities throughout Lebanon other parameters have come into play in the Middle East crisis and furthermore, the Persian Gulf war has to a great extent exacerbated the Middle East crisis and that of the internal crisis of Lebanon. Since the expansion and growth of Islamic activities in Lebanon, which has close religious ties with the Islamic Republic, have created a strong parameter in the equation of the Middle East and that of Lebanon.

Briefly stated, one can say since under the present circumstances the Lebanon's crisis has been transformed into a local and regional crisis, it cannot be resolved without due consideration of the Middle East [or Palestine] crisis.

Question: How do you evaluate Syria's relations with Lebanon?

Answer: The relations between Syria and Lebanon is a result of historical and geographical relations and this is something which has existed for long years, especially since the advent of independence of the two nations. On the northern and eastern side Lebanon is bordered by Syria. In other words, aside from the western routes which connect Lebanon and Syria by sea, the northern and eastern Lebanese roads, which end in Syria, are the only commutable roads of Lebanon with the rest of the world. Thus one cannot disregard the historical and geographical relations of the two countries.

As a result of their contiguousness the two countries ought to establish definite and distinct relations. As regards the presence of the Syrians in Lebanon, there are certain reasons, one of the most important of these is preventing the segregation of Lebanon which in the long run would have resulted in partitioning Syria and other Middle Eastern countries into a form of feudalist and nationalist states. The eventual plan of Israel and United States is based on partitioning the Middle East into smaller states, each under the rule of certain tribes. And at the top of the list Lebanon was to lead this partitioning trend, however as a result of Syria's intervention in Lebanon, this objective did not materialize and furthermore as a result of Syria's presence in Lebanon, the domination of one sect over another was not realized. Therefore, if Syria can succeed in its goal, the above-described role will be properly realized, otherwise Lebanon's crisis will face a dark future.

Question: What is your opinion regarding the plan for "figural democracy?"

Answer: In order to resolve Lebanon's crisis, figural democracy seems to be the means for achieving the fundamental goal--which is the establishment of Islamic rule throughout the world. Our objective is not only confined within the framework of Lebanon, but our primary goal is directed toward God and installing His rule over the earth.

Therefore, with due consideration to the council's principle, creation of figural democracy as a principle can be accepted by all the sects and tribes, since at the present time there are 17 various tribes in Lebanon. Therefore, Lebanon's present sectarian rule cannot continue as long as it is based on preference and domination of one sect over the other. Furthermore, considering the fact that the installation of an Islamic rule in Lebanon will be faced with certain difficulties, the above-stated plan originated with due consideration to the existing realities in Lebanon. Because of the existing realities, execution of the aforementioned principle will provide every citizen with equal opportunity as far as individual rights and performance of assigned duties are concerned.

Question: How do you evaluate the results and accomplishments of the Hezbollah and Amal movement's joint delegation trip to the Islamic Republic of Iran?

Answer: As regards the trip of Hezbollah and Amal movement's joint delegation, first we have to say that negotiations are the means for bringing about an understanding between the contesting parties who have been avoiding one another. On the other hand, it is one of the most important means of understanding and entente cordiale between two groups which have close ties. Negotiations tend to pave the way for reaching an understanding, particularly negotiations which are conducted under the supervision of the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

However, in order to be more precise I must add that the relations and current of events are based on the stance and pertinent ways of executing relevant affairs. Similarly, when the stance and method of execution of a certain issue pertaining to two sides [contesting parties] are properly in accord, undoubtedly great results can be achieved by both. As a result of unanimity of views and actions in the political arena and coordination of our efforts and methods with the relevant affairs of the Islamic issues for the purpose of attaining a pertinent objective, eventually we can reach our goal.

For this reason, as I said, relations are based on this stance and God willing, we will be able to work toward harmonizing our stance and be able to put into execution those measures which have been agreed upon by both sides. Regarding our present relations with the Hezbollah, I must say that we have favorable relations with them, however I would like to add that there are some sullied or tainted hands at work which constantly are making every effort to create more tension and animosity between the Amal movement and the Hezbollah. This fact is particularly evident in the army cadre which inflicts blows and suppresses our Islamic movement affairs throughout Lebanon, where the Shiites constitute the very backbone of the movement. The United States, the Intelligence Organization of the Zionist regime [Mossad] and the Lebanese Intelligence Organization are constantly trying to create discord between the Hezbollah and the Amal movement. However, here I should add that a decrease in the existing tensions comprise one of the resultant dimensions of the joint delegation, and God willing there will be no more unfavorable events in Lebanon which could affect the trend of Muslem movement in our land.

Question: Will the Islamic resistance of southern Lebanon continue its attacks against the Zionist regime after the liberation of the south; furthermore, what assures or stands behind the continuation and stability of this resistance?

Answer: The Islamic resistance in Lebanon has achieved some accomplishments which could not be realized by 180 million Arabs. This resistance has achieved a brilliant and remarkable victory against the Zionist regime and the multinational forces of the United States, France, England and Italy. These forces are jointly making an effort to weaken this resistance since they are well aware of the fact that after the liberation of the occupied southern territory of Lebanon, the resistance will continue on its way to Jerusalem. In this regard,

I would like to add that the present conflict of southern Lebanon can be considered one of many stages of our strife with world Zionism for liberating Jerusalem and destroying Israel, which as the grand imam Khomeyni stated, constitutes the very roots of imperialism.

Our strategic and fundamental views are based on the fact that our fight and conflict with the Zionist regime ought to continue until the liberation of Jerusalem. However, at the present time, for the purpose of liberating southern Lebanon, as our first step we are continuing our struggle and awaiting the arrival of the liberating army of the Islamic Republic in order to march into Jerusalem. As regards continuing and prolonging this resistance, I have to add that our belief in God and the spiritual and material support of the Islamic Repubic of Iran constitute some of the principal foundations of our resistance.

Question: The fighting between the various camps has had painful results. What was the result and where was the root of this war?

Answer: In reality, the fighting between the various camps was a plot to keep the warring opponents busy since they are the ones who always create turmoil and disturbance for the Zionist regime, the United States and the world arrogance in the Lebanese arena. Today, the world arrogance, headed by the United States and the world Zionism, are fearful of two issues in the Lebanese arena:

First, The Palestine revolution and second, the awakening of Islam or Islamic activities present in the Lebanese arena. Thus, the filthy plots of the United States and the Zionism are constantly at work to destroy these two pursuits which undoubtedly in the future will be disturbing factors for the plans of the United States and those of Zionism. They are immensely frightened by the expansion of these activities and it is for this reason that they have made every effort to set up Shiite Muslems against Palestinians and they have succeeded to a certain degree in this plan. As a result of this plot the fighting between the various camps of the Shiite Muslems and Palestinians is taking place. This kind of infighting, first of all tends to weaken the Palestinians and second of all, affects the trend of Islamic movement in the Lebanese arena tremendously. I pray to God that we put this stage and state of affairs behind us and prepare the Islamic movement on an ever more expansive basis to pave the way for the liberation of Jerusalem.

Question: What is your analysis of the tripartite agreement of Damascus?

Answer: The tripartite agreement of Damascus was doomed from the very beginning. There are many reasons for this. The very first reason is the strong relations of the ruling Maronites with the United States and the Zionist regime. Israel is opposed to any and all the solutions for resolving the Lebanese crisis. We had from the very beginning made it known that as long as Israel was not able to bring about proper security measures to prevail in southern Lebanon, it would oppose any and all the solutions which might help to resolve the Lebanese crisis. On the other hand, the United States has made certain efforts to make up for the

defeat of the 17th May agreement and additionally it has helped create a powerful central government in Lebanon and orchestrated the signing of an agreement with Israel. Moreover, the ruling Maronites, through the assistance and cooperation of the United States and Israel, has made every effort to neutralize the very principal foundation of the said agreement. The uprising of 15th January in East Beirut against the Ili Hubayqah wing indicated the validity of this assertion. But let's not forget that Ili Hubayqah is not innocent either. He is one of the go-between and the leading officials of the long-standing relations of the Phalangists and the Zionist regime. Despite all the apparent whitewash, the ruling Maronites will dispose of any and all persons from its camps who are not going to protect the interests of Israel and those of the United States. Thus, the uprising of 15th January in Samir Ja'ja, which ended in the elimination of Ili Hubayqah, follows the same trend.

Question: What is your opinion regarding the effort being made to boycott Amine Gemayel, the president of Lebanon?

Answer: In answer to one of your question I pointed out that our problem does not concern specific individuals. Although we support the removal of the person of Amine Gemayel, our primary viewpoint pertains to the downfall of the present political regime of the ruling Maronites headed by Amine Gemayel. Therefore, with due consideration to this fact, first of all the issue of change or transformation of the political regime has to be discussed, thereafter the removal of Amine Gemayel will follow in due course.

Question: What is your opinion regarding the imposed Iraqi war against Iran?

Answer: The imposed war against the Islamic Republic has in reality been imposed on Iran by the world arrogance. The past history of Saddam Hoseyn and his relations with the CIA, particularly during the years 1964-69, are quite evident. Saddam Hoseyn is a product of the CIA. The Central Intelligence Agency selected Saddam, who was one of the weakest members of the Ba'th ruling committee, to take up the reins of Iraq and face the Islamic Iran in the imposed war. They had foreseen the events of the Islamic revolution and therefore they propped up Saddam in advance to be able to face Islamic Iran.

On the other hand, taking into consideration the present bipolarity of the world into an Eastern and Western camp, and the famous slogan of the Islamic Republic: "Neither East, Nor West," has quite cearly frightened the powers-that-be. From the time of the Ottoman rule in Turkey, France, England and the USSR consistently have made a joint effort to bring down that rule, all merely because there has been Islamic rule in that country.

The interesting thing is that one of the famous prime ministers of England several years ago in the House of Commons while holding a Koran stated: "If you wish to gain a foothold in the Middle East, take away this book from them."

Thus, the imposed war of Saddam Hoseyn who has close relations with world Zionism

and arrogance, headed by the United States, is in reality a war of the world arrogance against Islam, since they are not ready to accept Islam as a third world power. Particularly, when they see that the past history of Islam quite clearly has proven the capability of the true religion of Islam in ruling and administration of the government. Therefore, in todays's world neither nationalism nor sectarianism can rival the world arrogance and whether it is the East or the West arrogance, both are frightened by the expansion of the Islamic influence.

They have become even more frightened by the slogan: "Neither East Nor West" which is aimed at unifying the Muslem nations. Therefore, they resorted to counterattacks and Saddam Hoseyn's invasion of Iran is just a clear example of that.

Thank you.

12719
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KHAMENE'I'S ARABIC SERMON ON LIBYA ATTACK

GF181238 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1100 GMT 18 APR 86

[Friday Arabic sermon delivered by Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Seyyed 'ali Khamene'i, Tehran Friday Imam, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and chairman of the Supreme Defense Council, at Tehran University on 18 April--recorded]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. O men and women of our Muslim nation everywhere. Arab brothers and sisters. Peace and God's mercy be upon you. The impudent U.S. attack against Muslim Libya, the bombardment of civilian areas and cities, and the killing or wounding of a large number of Muslims--including children, the elderly, and women--are among the most terrible events of the hour. Analysis of the incident reveals important matters that deserve the attention of our Muslim nation, particularly the peoples of the Middle East and North Africa.

First of all, the feeble justifications for the incident notwithstanding, the principal driving force behind the incident is the spirit hostile to Islam and to the slogan of Islam that is raised consistently and with determination by the Libyan people and leadership. Such a fact is clearly illustrated in the remarks of Reagan who said that the Libyan leaders are Muslim fanatics.

Second, it is very likely that the move was carried out by paving the way and coordinating with some reactionary Arab leaders. If the United States had expected the least resistance from its Arab allies it would not, of course, have insolently embarked on such an abominable crime. The remarks by George Bush following his visit to the area on his obtaining the agreement of Arab leaders to exercise pressure on Libya strengthens this possibility.

Third, despite its apparent show-off stance and display of force, the United States has exposed its great isolation and weakness. Otherwise, the confrontation of Libya and attacking it in such a manner that provokes the wrath of world public opinion was unnecessary. [sentence as heard] It is very clear that indirect pressure on progressive countries has been futile. The very aggressive U.S. political circles had no choice but to risk their political reputation and throw into the battle aircraft and military personnel.

Fourth, despite the U.s. regime's pretense to defend human rights it has demonstrated more than at any other time in the past its intransigence,

arbitrary behavior, brutality, and lack of all human values. It has clearly shown to the world who are the international terrorists.

Fifth, despite all U.S. political attempts to pretend to be balanced and logical, the confused and chaotic behavior of the United States has been exposed. It is not (?possible) that such a mad action could be carried out by a government capable of correct [word indistinct]. That is a warning of the inevitable danger that faces U.S. policy in the future. Such arrogance has always characterized the moves of all imperialist powers that, since the middle of the 10th century, have begun to decline and pass away.

The incident entails great lessons. The first lesson for our Muslim nation in general, and for the Arab peoples in particular, is that the world oppressors harbor a continuing and deep-rooted hatred of Islam and Muslims. We have seen how Britain, some West European states--and indeed some Arab regimes--have supported the United States in this criminal action. In the face of the cohesion shown by the front of infidelity, Muslims must understand the need to support their front so as to confront the U.S. threat. Libya is the target of aggression today, but any country that rises to oppose the world oppressors tomorrow will be the target of similar aggression.

That is why ranks should be united and wills should be sharpened for resistance on the basis of deepening Islamic spirit in the hearts. The other main issue is that Arab regimes should announce their stand on this incident frankly and clearly. How easy it is to cooperate with the United States and plot against Libya secretly and at the same time announce condemnation of this crime to the indignant world public opinion! But what is strange is that some Arab countries in the region have not even done this easy thing. What does this mean? Does it mean that pan-Arab feelings are boiling in the hearts of these people only when they use them in striking at Islam? Are not the Libyan people Arab people? Are not these oppressed people who were killed in the U.S. attack in Tripoli and Benghazi Arabs? If you are insincere in advocating Islam, are you also insincere in advocating Arabism? It seems that facts prove this.

We view this incident as the beginning of a series of incidents in the future. Therefore, we insist that the United States should be punished. The new U.S. policy in the region contradicts the dignity of Muslim people. People can either rise in order to teach the insane U.S. policy-makers a lesson that they will not forget, as our brothers in Lebanon have done, or they can leave the United States unbridled so that it can spread evil on earth and plunge its claws into the body of the nation and continue to suck blood, plunder wealth, and crush people's dignity. It is a stage of critical and decisive confrontation. People, particularly the youth generation, should have their say on this situation.

We, in the name of Islam and the Islamic revolution, will escalate our struggle against the Untied States because of the impudence and aggression it has shown. Its recent move makes us more convinced of the weakness of this arrogant show-off enemy. If God is on our side, we do not care who is against us.

Righteous people, I urge you to fear God and to make peace among your ranks. "God loves those who fight in his cause in solid ranks." "In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. When the help of God comes, and the victory, and you see men entering the religion of God in troops, glorify your lord with his praise and seek forgiveness of him. Surely he is oft-returning with compassion." [Koranic verses] Peace and God's mercy be upon you.

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BHUTTO JAIL TORTURE, PAKISTAN-U.S. ANTAGONISM RECALLED

Rawalpindi HURMAT in Urdu 8-16 Feb 86 pp 7-15

[Begum Nusrat Bhutto interviewed by businessman Rahel Hashmi in Paris; date not given]

[Excerpts] "We do not accept Junejo's government, but it is better than martial law." -- Begum Nusrat Bhutto

> Begum **Nusrat** Bhutto is chairman-for-life of the defunct Pakistan People's Party [PPP]. As the First Lady, during the PPP rule, she played an active role in every sphere of national life. When Bhutto was put behind bars she entered politics with such courage and confidence that even after 9 years her influence has not waned. Besides a long political confinement, she has had to bear the shock of her husband being hanged and her grown son being murdered. Her health has weakened and she does not meet journalists, but Pakistanis in Europe, especially those in France, keep visiting her. The following interview took place in Paris with a well-to-do Pakistani businessman, Rahel Hashmi.

Begum Bhutto: I agree with you there. Bhutto took a very hazardous step when he dared to challenge the United States. He should have tried to protect himself from the U.S. agents all around him. He made the mistake of trusting the Maulvis who deceived the naive people of the country in the name of Islam. Bhutto once said in Lahore Jail, "I could not discern their hypocrisy." Once during the agitation by the Pakistan National Alliance I said to him, "If you could get rid of the police and the army and go to the people, they would all rally round you." (I had noticed that he was being kept away from the people according to a set plan.) His answer was: "I shall meet the people after I have dealt with the Maulvis." But fate did not give him the chance to do so. We shall continue Bhutto's mission. We are not afraid of the United States.

The Lawsuit Against Bhutto

We do not doubt the sincerity of the lawyers that tried to save Bhutto. They did all that was in their power. But the issue had been decided before the trial began. The trial was a mere formality.

Mufti Mehmud said that even if Bhutto had been released in that trial, a lawsuit about the secession of East Pakistan would have been brought against him in a military court. Moreover, the police began to arrest party workers and common people even before the judgment had been annoucned in the Bhutto case. How did the police know what the judgment was going to be and that the people would rise against it? Bhutto would have been released if his case had been heard by any judge other than Maulvi Mushtaq. Even the members of the Qasuri family admitted that the trial was a fraud. Qasuri's father had been killed by his relatives, owing to a family feud. Why else was Qasuri's father always armed with a pistol? There were strained relations between the families of Qasuri and Masud Mehmud. The latter has now emigrated to America. But that is a long story. In any case Bhutto was guiltless.

General Came to Sahala Jail

Benazir and myself were in Sahala Jail together. We had been given a servant, but the person was changed frequently. Perhaps the authorities feared that the servant might help us to make a connection with the outside world. Most of the time we talked or listened to the radio. Benazir wrote a little, but I only read books. One evening when it was growing dark, we were having coffee. A military man entered the room unannounced, and without apologizing for coming in that way, began to speak in a flat tone like a robot: "Madam, General Saeed is coming to see you at 8 o'clock." Then he turned back and left without waiting for an answer. When I turned to look, I found that he had two other officers with him. We did not give the incident any importance. At 8:20 pm, when we sat down to listen to the BBC, there was a knock at the door. Then a man in plain clothes came and said, "Brigadier Saeed is coming to see you." Then he went away and an army officer came in and asked me if he could sit down, and sat down without waiting for my answer. He gave me a brief oral message from the authorities and then said: "If you get Bhutto's signature on these papers, you as well as Bhutto will be taken safely to Germany tonight."

Benazir spoke at this juncture and handing him back the file said: "My Papa is great. We cannot ask him to do such a shameful thing." I asked him what the papers were about. He said that they were about the tragedy of East Pakistan. Later on I found out that they wanted Bhutto to take the blame for the secession of East Pakistan on his own shoulders. Afterwards, I discovered to my surprise that the person who had visited me was not Brigadier Saeed at all. Somebody had impersonated him. I informed Bhutto of what had happened.

What Bhutto Went Through

I can prove that Bhutto was tortured in jail. I know the names and ranks of those who did it. According to the information I received, he was kicked,

boxed and slapped. How must Bhutto have suffered when he was maltreated like this after his long illness. He had grown so weak that his wedding ring fell from his finger. When he was to be hanged, he had to be taken to the death chamber on a stretcher. He was too weak to walk. But he walked to the scaffold himself.

How Bhutto was tortured in jail is a secret that I shall tell at the proper time. All I can tell at the present is that the elected prime minister of the country, the chairman of the Islamic Conference and an unarmed helpless man was made the victim of untold torture in jail. I do not think your magazine will ever be able to print what I have to disclose.

Why Was I Not Allowed to Talk to Zia?

When in Rawalpindi I was told that it was my last meeting with my husband, I controlled myself in his presence, but once outside the jail I asked the jailor to let me talk to Zia. I went to his office and repeatedly asked him to let me talk to Zia on the phone. But he told me that he was quite powerless and could do nothing for me. The army, he said, had taken charge of everything. Then I tried to talk to the military man in charge of the jail. I was told that he was resting. In the meantime, Benazir questioned the jailor and he told her that he could do nothing at all. Then an officer whispered to me that Tara Masih had been called from Lahore. This was the first time I had heard this name. I was told that he was a hangman. Benazir cried when she heard this, and I tried to console her. The officer turned his face to the wall and wiped his eyes. Just then an officer entered the room and told us that our car was at the gate and we had to go with him.

On the way I was told that the telephone wires had been disconnected and leave for all jail employees canceled. The stage was set for Bhutto's hanging. When outside the jail, I asked the officer to take me to the Presidency. But he said that all was useless since he had received orders from the authorities that we were not to have any communication with anybody. That military officer looked very sad all the time. When he was leaving us after dropping us at Sahala, he said, "Bhutto's dead body will be taken away by plane between 4 and 5 am." Then he saluted us and left. My daughter and I collapsed to the ground where we stood.

I Shall Never Forgive Chishti

I have heard that General Chishti says that he is not guilty. He has often tried to meet me. I have heard that he tried to meet Benazir in London. But I declare that I shall never forgive him. He is not worthy of forgiveness. I have to be silent. If I were to say one word, Bhutto's faithful followers would come out in the streets, but I do not want to make trouble. Martial law has come to an end at long last. Junejo's government, though we do not accept it, is better than martial law. Chishty can never free himself from the sin of ill-treating Bhutto. He once even threatened to harm me. What was his purpose? I can never forgive or forget what he has done.

Unforgettable

Bhutto was in jail. I went to the Qaddafi Stadium to watch a cricket match. People became excited when they saw me. This brought down a baton charge by the police. I was among those who were hurt. When the blood gushed out of the wound in my head, I would have fallen to the ground if a worker of the PPP had not held me in his arms like a mother. I did not expect the police to go crazy like that. I shall never forget the young man who cleaned my blood with his own shirt and kept me in his shadow to protect me from the sun. He did not leave me even under the bludgeons of the police. When I asked him to save himself, he answered that he would sooner die than desert me. I remember that young man as if he were my own son. When I recounted this incident to Bhutto in jail, he said with deep seriousness: "Go ahead and save your children."

I Will Come to Mochi Gate

I do not keep in good health, but my heart is strong and resolute. I mean to come to Mochi Gate once, even if I have to come in a wheelchair. I shall tell people what Bhutto said to me at our last meeting. I shall tell them about the people whom Bhutto unmasked for me. After I have talked to the people at Mochi Gate, I shall not mind if death overtakes me. I have not collapsed even after undergoing so much anguish, because I have not yet completed my mission. If the wife of a general had to bear one-tenth of what I have had to undergo, she would lose her sanity. I will come to Mochi Gate and tell my painful story to my sons and brothers and sisters and mothers. If anybody dares, he can contradict me, but I should be allowed to talk to the people. When I come to Pakistan I will visit Mochi Gate, come what may.

We Will Make the Atomic Bomb

Nobody should doubt that the United States turned against Bhutto partly because he wanted to breathe dignity and self-respect into the Pakistani people and partly because he wanted to unite the Muslims and make them an invincible nuclear power. Faisal and Qadhdhafi appreciated his plans. Henry Kissinger had said to Bhutto quite plainly: "If you do not give up your atomic program we shall give exemplary punishment."

I remember that the country was in the grip of floods at that time. Kissinger was given dinner at the Governor House. On that occasion Bhutto made a beautiful speech, using the symbols of rivers and floods to illustrate his point. Even Kissinger praised him for his beautiful style and his mastery of the English language. I shall always remember this part of his speech:

"The British governor who lived here used to rule from the Civil Secretariat, 2 miles away from here. In the Secretariat there is the tomb of Anarkali, who was buried alive at the order of Akbar, because she loved. We, too, know how to love. We are not afraid of death."

Bhutto wrote in his last book: "These wolves want my blood." How can I give up the mission for which Bhutto died? People know that when Aziz Ahmad went to Paris to talk about the reprocessing plant, unknown burglars broke into

his room and made off with very important papers. People know that a scientist had brought very sensitive information from the Netherlands, and tht Bhutto had received him with great honor. Everybody knows that if Bhutto had given up his atomic program, the United States would have given up its enmity against him. That is what happened afterwards. The United States has now become the country's friend.

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BACHA KHAN'S KARACHI VISIT REGISTERS SINDHI RESENTMENT

Karachi JANG in Urdu 20 Mar 86 p 5

[Article by Mukhtar Aqil in the column "Karachi Diary"]

[Excerpts] The topic of the day lately in political circles is the Karachi visit of the Red Shirt leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and his participation in the 83d birthday celebrations of the aged statesman G. M. Sayyed in his village of Sun (District Dadu). When Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who because of his Gandhian views is also known as Frontier Gandhi, reached Karachi from Peshawar, workers of the NDP [National Democratic Party], PNP [Pakistan National Party], Jiye Sindh Movement and several student organizations, carrying flags and banners, were there to welcome the 97-year-old statesman. Most of the workers were wearing red caps or red kerchiefs while a few persons were dressed in red. It took 45 minutes to conduct Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan from the train to outside the station. He was taken out of the station seated in a wheel chair. As soon as the workers saw him, they started firing in the air. All kinds of firearms from Kalashnikovs and Sten guns to revolvers were openly used on this occasion. Bacha Khan was seated in an open pick-up parked outside the station. Present there to greet him were Sayyed Imdad Mohammad Shah, son of G. M. Sayyed, NDP [National Democratic Party] leaders Abdul Khaliq, Khan Farid Toofan and Amin Khatak, and Habib Ulah Narejo and Qamar Bhatti of the Jiye Sindh Movement. From the station, Bacha Khan was taken in a big procession to Khuhro House, which is also known as the Black House. During the time of the late Khan Bahadur Ayub Khuhro, the Iron Man of Sind, this house had been the center of Sindhi and Pakistani politics. Before the formation of Pakistan, the Khuhro family had twice had the honor of entertaining Pakistan's founder, Quaid-e Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Apart from certain other objectionable happenings in the course of Bacha Khan's procession, what caused intense concern among patriotic circles were the anti-Pakistani slogans chanted by some people in the procession. In this leading city, these people were fearlessly shouting slogans like "Break up, Break up Pakistan," "Anyone who is a friend of Pakistan is a traitor" and "Pakistan will break up and Sindhu Desh will be formed." On this cocasion, some leaders of the NDP and the Pakhtoon Students Federation approached newsmen to explain that their workers were not shouting these slogans; in a statement issued 3 days after the event, the chairman of the working committee of the Jiye Movement, Dr Hamida Khuhro, laid blame for these slogans on unknown people who had infiltrated the procession in an effort to disrupt the welcome accorded

to the Red Shirt leader and, when they failed in their designs, sought to create an unfavorable atmosphere for Bacha Khan by chanting anti-Pakistani slogans. Whatever the facts, the concern of patriotic circles is justified. If these slogans were not instigated by the people assembled to greet Bacha Khan, then we should trace those forces who sent their agents to chant these slogans and thereby sought to gain their own ends.

During his stay in Karachi, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan had meetings with Mohammad Alhaq Usmani, founder of the Sindh Unity Board; Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, founder of the Sindhi Baluch Pakhtun Front; Abid Zuberi, information secretary of the NDP; Mir Ali Ahmed Khan Talpur, former minister of defense; Harun Ahmed and several other political figures. He also had meetings with deputations of the NDP, PNP, Saraiki Province Movement and several other organizations. Dr Hamida Khuhro hosted a dinner in his honor. Several political and social personalities attended. On these occasions, he explained the background of his visit to Karachi and meeting with G. M. Sayyed. In his view, "Pakistan, the land that Mr Jinnah created for Muslims, is finished. Common Punjabi folks are just as oppressed as we are, but the capitalists, landlords and bureaucracy of Punjab have destroyed Jinnah's Pakistan and have forcibly evicted 54 percent of the people from the country." He says that the present Pakistan belongs to the capitalists, landlords and military of Punjab and "we do not accept this Pakistan. If you want to create Pakistan, we are willing, but to this end you will have to agree to the demands of the three oppressed nations, Sindhis, Baluchis and Pashtuns and you will have to negotiate with them. If Punjab is not prepared to agree to this, then neither do we accept this Pakistan because this is not Jinnah's Pakistan." Expressing his grievance against Punjab, he said, "You have snatched from us our wealth, our river and our mines. The Indus River is ours, because Pathans live on both sides of it. This is an international law that the local inhabitants have a prior claim on the river flowing through their area. But by building three dams on this river, billions of megawatts of electricity are being generated while the true owners of the river are without either electricity or water. Mines of precious stones, forests and salt mines are under Punjab occupation. The Frontier Gandhi said that, after Ahmed Shah Abdali conquered Delhi, he told Pathans that all land lying between Jehlum and the River Hemu belonged to them, and its name was Pakhtun Land. But Mianwali and Campbellpur Districts of this area are under occupation of Punjab even though people of this area have passed resolutions in their municipal councils expressing their desire to join us." In this connection, he referred to a letter he had written to the nation's president, General Mohammad Ziaul Haq, in which he had asked the president to resolve this issue and return these districts to the Frontier Province. He said he was ready to forgo Jehlum and Rawalpindi because Punjabis were in the majority there.

During Bacha Khan's stay in Karachi, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, founder of the Sindhi Baluch Pakhtun Front had a long meeting with him and exchanged ideas on his one-point program for confederation. But from Ghaffar Khan's attitude, it appears that at this stage he is not prepared to support this view. He says that they had established unity among Sindhis, Baluchis and Pakhtuns as far

back as in 1983, but the Front claims that it was forged in London. Frontier Gandhi's position is that the Front leaders want a confederation accepting the provinces of present-day Pakistan, whereas "we don't accept this Pakistan because this is not Jinnah's Pakistan." Prior to this, the Jiye Sindh Movement had also revoked its alliance with the Front on the grounds that, if sacrifices have to be made, then why not make sacrifices for a greater goal, the Sindhu Desh?

After 2 days stay in Karachi, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in a big procession, left Karachi on the morning of March 17 for G. M. Sayyed's village, Sun, where 83d birthday celebrations for the old politician are being held. There is a difference of 14 years between Bacha Khan and G. M. Sayyed, but this difference in age has never stood in the way of their political friendship.

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